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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS,

OF THE SOCIETY OF

FRIENDS:

INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW-DUTCH

BY WILLIAM SEWEL.

PART 1.

TO GEORGE, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, &c. PRINCE ELECTOR OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG, &c.

Great and Mighty Prince,

As there is great variety in the inclinations of men in general, so it is particularly remarkable in those who addict themselves to the studies of Nature and human Literature: for some with great eagerness enquire into the operations of nature and the natural causes of things; some endeavour to dig up antiquities from the dark, by searching out the signification of statues, the inscriptions of antique stones, and old and almost worn out medals; and others peruse with unwearied diligence, the histories both of modern and ancient times, and not without good cause: for history is not unjustly called the looking-glass of human life; not only because it sheweth unto us the matters of fact, which are either commendable, or reprovable, and we behold therein that which is past, as if it were present; but also because from things which have already happened we may learn what is best for us to do, and what we ought to avoid. And therefore great benefit may be reaped from the reading of histories besides the pleasure which the variety of transactions affords to our senses, when matters are accompanied with singular circumstances and unexpected events.

Now since the reading of historical treatises

was one of the most pleasant diversions of my youth, this drew me, when I attained to some maturity of age, to enquire after many things that had happened in thy kingdoms and dominions, which by many were almost forgotten. And having gathered great store of very remarkable cases, which I thought worthy to be kept upon record, and not buried in oblivion, I was induced to compose an history, which contains such rare occurrences, and unusual matters as I believe, are not easily paralleled.

And after a long and difficult labour having at length finished the work, so far as to expose it to public view; and then thinking to whom I should dedicate it, it presently came into my mind, that this could not be done more suitably to any than to the King of these countries, which are the chief theatre of this history; and the rather, because therein is described the rise of a people, who are no small part of his faithful subjects, (for so I may safely call them) since they never, how much soever wronged and oppressed, offered any resistance to the government: and when for conscience-sake they could not comply with what was required of them, by patient suffering they shewed their subjection and obedience to the higher power. Nay, when opportunity was offered to revenge themselves of their enemies, even then they *would not, but left it* to the Lord; and thus

at all times they behaved themselves like a peaceable people.

And since I have also had occasion in this history to mention some illustrious branches of thy royal family, to whom could I with more justice offer this work, than to thee, O King of Great Britain, who, having already made thy self gloriously renowned by thy eminent clemency bestowed even upon such who by their unnatural rebellion had forfeited it, didst rather choose to establish thy throne thereby, than by severity, and thus effectually to observe this lesson of the wisest of Kings, "Mercy and Truth preserve the King, and his throne is upholden by mercy." PROV. xx. 28.

All this hath emboldened me, great King, to dedicate this work to thee with due regard, and in a way of humble address to approach thy royal presence. Be pleased therefore, according to thy wonted goodness, to excuse this modest freedom, and to know, that though it be offered by a foreigner, yet it proceeds from him who heartily wisheth that God may vouchsafe thee long to reign in peace and tranquillity over thy subjects; and when removed hence from an earthly and perishing diadem, to grant thee an heavenly and incorruptible Crown of Glory. Which is the unfeigned desire of,

Great and *Mighty Prince*,

Thy Affectionate and Sincere Well-Wisher,

William Sewel.

THE

PREFACE.

After a labour of more than five and twenty years, this history at length appears in public view; to the compiling of which I was induced from the consideration that the rise and increase of that religious society, which in this work I have given a circumstantial account of, is indeed so rare and wonderful a thing, that I think few will be met with in modern histories, which in the like respect may be compared therewith; because the Quakers (so called) are become a great people under such heavy oppression as is herein after mentioned; and that not by any human power, or making resistance, but merely by an harmless deportment, and the exercising of patience; for the bearing of arms, and the resisting of the wicked by fighting, they always have counted unlawful and contrary to the doctrine of our Saviour. Thus they, who had no king, prince nor potentate to protect them, and who, in the beginning had not among themselves any men of renown or literature, but relying on their integrity, and trusting to God alone, have at length triumphed over the malice of their opposers, by suffering, (which rose to that degree, that it was at the expence of the lives of many of them) under violent oppression from high and low, and the *opposition of learned* and unlearned.

All this after much search, being found out by assiduous diligence, it appeared so wonderful to me, that I resolved to give a relation thereof, notwithstanding the great labour I soon perceived this work required. To this may be added, that when I considered that several authors both Germans and others, had published books and accounts of this people, stuffed with gross untruths, I was the more spurred on thereby to set down in due order,(for my countrymen's sake, what I knew of the matter; for it seems, indeed to be of small advantage, that when any thing is well known to us, we keep that knowledge only to ourselves, * without imparting it to others.

Now how difficult soever I found it, yet having made a beginning I resolved to go on; and so I did, though often stopped by several accidents, and also other work: for during this labour, I have not only translated several bulky books into dutch, besides Kennet's Antiquities of Rome, but also composed several treatises of moment, and among these my great Dictionary, English and Low Dutch. And notwithstanding all these impediments, I continually resumed this work by intervals, so often that I have written it almost thrice to make it complete: for doubting of some things, and find-

* *Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.*
Pers. Sat. 1.

ing others defective, it made me write to England for better information; which having gotten at length after much pains and long waiting, I was several times obliged to lay aside part of my former description, and make a new one; which happened so often, that had I not been supported by an unwearied application, the difficulty of the labour, which hath been much greater in Holland than if I had composed the work in England, would have made me give it over. But I went on, and so finished this history in that form as it now appears.

And I am not without thoughts, that I was prepared to be instrumental for such a work as this: for several remarkable things I have made use of, I had noted down before ever I thought of composing such a history; and even in my young years, when I was in England, I copied from manuscripts several pieces and letters which are inserted in this history, it may be hardly to be found elsewhere.

At the first sight, perhaps some will be ready to think that I might have superseded this labour; since the learned world hath long ago seen a book written in latin by Gerard Croese, with the title of Historia Quakeriana. But be it known to the reader, that though the author got the chief contents thereof from me, yet that relation which he gives of the rise and progress of the Quakers, is very imperfect and defective;

and that he presumed to relate things of which he had no true knowledge. I gave him indeed many things in writing; but not all I had collected; besides having since that time written to my acquaintance in England, I got narratives of many remarkable occurrences given forth in print there, and many authentic pieces in manuscript. Now though this collection was, as Ovid called the Chaos, Rudis indigestaque Moles, [a rude and undigested heap;] yet from thence and from my own collection of matters known to me, I have compiled the greatest part of this history: but as to the life and transactions, of G. Fox, who is largely treated of in this work, I took them chiefly from his Journal; and the greatest part of other occurrences, or the lives and transactions of others, I have taken from the works of deceased authors, and out of abundance of small books, published in print not long after the things happened, and not contradicted by whatever I could learn.

Thus I have endeavoured to assert nothing but what I had good authority for; which in regard of some circumstances, would have been yet far more difficult after the expiration of some years: for now time gave opportunity to be informed of many things, which some ancient people had yet remembrance of, and which after *their decease*, perhaps would have been *buried in oblivion*.

I cannot well omit here publicly to acknowledge the signal kindness and diligence of my well-beloved and much esteemed friend Theodore Eccleston of London, who hath furnished me with abundance of materials, not only very useful, but also absolutely necessary for the compiling of this work: from him I had intelligence on that account, and have exchanged a multitude of letters. And thus by a long continued correspondence I came to be acquainted with many things and circumstances, which after some years might have been more difficult to obtain.

Add to this, that I have described several things well known to me, which few besides myself within these thirty or forty years had better knowledge of; I have also mentioned several remarkable cases, which I noted down from the mouths of credible persons, who have been dead many years; and thought not that at any time I should have published them in print. In the mean while I took account of what seemed to me worthy to be left upon record, and collected a great quantity of books, wherein many occurrences, mentioned in this history were related. Of such kind of relations and accounts I have made use, without taking from thence all that was remarkable: for it hath not been for want of matter that this history hath not run out farther, since I could have made

it thrice as big, if I had minded so to do. But as I was unwilling to extend my work any farther than my strength and health in all probability should permit, so I would not glut my reader with many things of one and the same nature; but have endeavoured by variety of matter, to quicken his appetite; and therefore have intermixed the serious part sometimes with a facetious accident.

Yet I have not thought myself bound to take notice of every odd case that may have happened among the Quakers so called: for there have conversed among them such, who acted some particular things that were not approved of by those of that society. And if any one swayed by human passion commits any excess, which is disapproved of by his fellow-members of the church, such an act may not be duly imputed to the people he makes profession with. Among such particulars may be reckoned the case of one Hester Biddle, which Croese makes mention of, about the end of his history: for though it was told him from the relation she gave of it at Amsterdam, not with any intention that he should publish it, yet this was a particular case which she herself must be responsible for; since experience hath taught that imagination sometimes works so powerfully on the mind, that one thinks himself obliged to do a thing which were better left undone.

Yet for all that, it is true, that men fearing God, may mistake, and through ignorance do something, which others not without reason might judge not commendable. Also it may happen that some again, from a godly fear have acted or omitted what others, no less pious, would not have scrupled. And though some among the Quakers, in the beginning of their rise, for fear of transgressing Christ's command, be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, speaking to persons in authority, called them by the name of Friend; yet others of the same persuasion have not therefore thought themselves bound to refuse to magistrates their distinguishing titles of magistracy. Nay, if any, for some special reason may not have given a full or direct answer to a query, yet others of the same society have not looked upon this as a pattern to imitate. For the most eminent valiants among this people in the beginning were not men of note or learning, though of great courage; insomuch that their immoveable steadfastness sometimes so exasperated their enemies, that their fear of doing or omitting any thing which they judged would displease God, often hath been stamped with the odious denomination of stubborness and stiffneckedness; but they have borne this patiently, *believing* that it was their duty to persevere *immoveably in minding* their christian profes-

sion, and in frequenting their religious assemblies. And that such a steadfastness was the duty of a christian, seems also to have been the judgment of the authors of the confession of faith of the reformed churches in the Netherlands, art. xxviii. where it is said, that it is the office or duty of all believers, to separate themselves according to the word of God from those that are not of the church; and to join to this congregation, in what place soever God hath placed them, though the magistrates and edicts of princes were against it, and that death, or any corporal punishment was annexed to it.

It is true, there have been such among the Quakers, who were exceedingly bold in representing to their enemies their evil behaviour and deportment: but this hath been a peculiar talent of pious men, of whom examples are extant in the books of martyrs, viz. That some of them in very plain terms told their persecutors of their wickedness. Very remarkable in that respect, is the speech of John Molleus, who about the year 1653, being prisoner at Rome, without any dissimulation, exposed to public view the wicked lives of the cardinals and bishops, who were ordered by the Pope to examine him. The like boldness appears also in the letter of Hans van Ovendam, to the magistrates of Ghent, in Flanders, as may be seen in *the Mirror of martyrs* of the Baptists. From

whence it appears, that the Quakers have not been the only people, who have told their persecutors very boldly of their wicked deportment and cruelty.

It cannot be denied that there have been at times among this society, some people of an odd behaviour who, in process of time embraced strange opinions and perverse notions: but that is no new thing; since this hath happened also among those of other persuasions, though none of these would allow that this was the consequence or effect of their doctrine. We find in sacred writ, that even in the primitive christian church there were apostates, either such as maintained strange doctrine, as the Nicolaitanes, or such who, finding the strait way too narrow for them, left it, and like Demas, falling in love again with the world, entered into the broad way. And therefore it can now no more than then, be argued from thence, that the exorbitances to which some launched out, were the effects of the doctrine they forsook.

Since in this history some predictions are also mentioned, and that some, biassed by prejudice, will perhaps look upon them as frivolous, imagining that the Quakers pretend to have the spirit of prophecy: I will answer to this, that though among thousands of them there may have been one that prophetically foretold a thing, *which afterwards truly* happened; yet others of

that society presumed to have that gift, no more than to have that of being a preacher: and all are not called to that work. There must be antecessors and leaders in the religious economy, as well as in the politic state: for if every one not qualified should assume the office of governing, things would soon run into confusion. Now though some have had this false conceit, that to be able to predict future things was a quality the Quakers attributed to themselves, as proceeding from their doctrine, that christians ought to be led by the spirit of God; yet this is a very sinister and preposterous conceit: for what they say concerning the leading and guiding of the spirit of God, is agreeable with the doctrine of the apostle, who saith, As many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God. Rom. viii. 14. And this was also the doctrine of the first reformers. What must we think then of those who will not be led by this spirit, but call this doctrine by the odious denomination, of enthusiasm? The same apostle tells us also, If any have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. Rom. viii. 9. And he also saith, The manifestation of the spirit is given to every man to profit withal. 1 Cor. xii. 7. But from thence it doth in no wise follow, that the spirit of prophecy is given to every one; whether that although it might please God to reveal *to one, a thing* which yet was to come, such

one therefore was endued with such a prophetical spirit, that, he was able at any time to predict future things.

If this position be true, then those of other persuasions might also lay claim to that prerogative because among them sometimes there have been pious men, who predicted remarkable things, which afterwards really happened; as among the rest, James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, who foretold the rebellion in Ireland forty years before it came to pass; besides the intestine war and miseries that befell England, and other things that were fulfilled; which leads us not to reject as frivolous his prediction of the dreadful persecution that would fall upon all the protestant churches by the papists: for though one of his friends once objected to him, that since Great Britain and Ireland had already suffered so deeply, there was reason to hope that the judgments of God in respect of these kingdoms might have been past; yet he replied to it, 'fool not your selves with such hopes: for I tell you, all you have yet seen hath been but the beginning of sorrows, to what is yet to come upon the protestant churches of Christ, who will 'ere long fall under a sharper persecution than ever yet hath been upon them. And therefore look you be not found in the outward court but a worshipper *in the temple* before the altar; for

Christ will measure all those that profess his name, and call themselves his people; and the outward worshippers he will leave out, to be trodden down by the gentiles. The outward court is the formal christian, whose religion lies in performing the outside duties of christianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love, uniting them to Christ: and these God will leave to be trodden down, and swept away by the gentiles. But the worshippers within the temple, and before the altar, are those, who do indeed worship God in spirit and in truth, whose souls are made his temples, and he is honoured and adored in the most inward thoughts of their hearts, and they sacrifice their lusts and vile affections, yea, and their own wills to him: and these God will hide in the hollow of his hand, and under the shadow of his wings. And this shall be the great difference between this last, and all the other preceding persecutions: for in the former, the most eminent and spiritual ministers and christians did generally suffer most, and were most violently fallen upon; but in this last persecution these shall be preserved by God as a seed to partake of that glory which shall immediately follow, and come upon the church, as soon as ever this storm shall be over: for as it shall be the sharpest, so it shall be the shortest persecution of them all, and shall only take away the gross

hypocrites and formal professors; but the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be overpast.

If any now a days should speak at this rate, it is credible, that many who think themselves to be good christians, would decry this as mere enthusiasm; but the said bishop is still in such great repute with the learned, and hath obtained such an high esteem by his writings, that his words are likely to be of more weight with many, than those of other pious men. And therefore I was willing to renew them, and revive his memory, if perhaps this might make some impression upon the minds of any: for this is a certain truth, that no outward performances will avail any, if they do not worship God in spirit and in truth; for such worshippers God seeks, according to what our Saviour himself said; besides, that, not every one that saith unto him Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven: Matt. vii. 21. Nay, when many in that day will say to him, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? Matt. vii. 22. He will say to them, I never knew you; depart from me ye that work iniquity. Matt. vii. 23.

As the many singular cases related in this history will afford no unpleasing entertainment to curious readers, so they will be found also *instructive; for we* shall not only meet with

instances of true piety and love to one's neighbour, and of saints triumphing on their death-beds, and also with remarkable examples of sinners truly penitent at the hour of death; but we may also find here abundance of proofs of a peaceable behaviour: for the Quakers, so called, have not plotted against the government, nor meddled with treasonable practices or rebellions: and how much soever they were oppressed, yet they always were quiet, and never made any resistance, but with an harmless patience they have borne their most heavy oppressions and injuries, and so at length overcame: for to be subject to magistracy hath always been one of their principles; and that they were really dutiful subjects, they have shewed at all times, by paying obedience to the higher power, in all they could do with a good conscience. And when any thing was required of them, which from a reverential respect to God they durst not do, or omit, they have shewed their obedience by suffering, without making any resistance, or joining with others who were inclined thereto.

Now though many have made it their business to represent them in odious colours, and to write great untruths concerning them, nay, to fasten doctrines upon them which they never approved, *and that* not a few of the learned *have contended* against them with their pens,

yet among those, there have also been such, who though they never joined with, yet gave a good account and favourable testimony concerning them; as may be seen in Richard Claridge's answer to a book of Edward Cockson, pag. 266, & seq. And at Amsterdam in Holland many years ago a learned man published a book called, Lucerna super Candelabrum, wherein he very eminently defended the doctrine of the inward light; and this book was published in Dutch, and afterwards also in English with the title of, the Light upon the Candlestick; and since the name of William Ames, a zealous preacher among the Quakers, was placed upon the title, many have believed him to be the author of that book, because his doctrine of the divine and inward light was so effectually asserted therein; that he approved the contents of the book I know; but I know also that it never proceeded from his pen. And many years afterwards it was published under the name of one Peter Balling as the author, though there were those who fathered it upon Adam Boreel, because it is found printed in Latin among his Scripta Posthuma. And this opinion is not altogether improbable; for among his works are found also some other writings, that contain several positions asserted by the Quakers: besides, he and some other *of the Collegians*, and among these also Dr.

Galenus Abrahamson, were so effectually convinced of the doctrine preached by William Ames, when he first came to Amsterdam, that they approved of it; though afterwards from a misapprehension they opposed it. Now if we presuppose that Adam Boreel was the author of the said Latin book, Peter Balling might be the Translator thereof into Dutch; for that it was originally written in Latin, seems to me very probable.

But however this be, it appears plainly, that the author would not publicly be known, for the title seemed designedly composed so, that the readers should believe W. Ames to be the author of it, viz. The Light on the Candlestick, serving for illustration of the principal matters in the book called, the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, &c. against Galenus Abrabrahamson, and his assenters, treated of, and written by W. Ames. And this name stood in capital letters underneath, in such a manner as the name of an author is usually placed upon a title; though the publisher meant no more, but that W. Ames was the author of the book called, the mysteries of the Kingdom of God. And there was no printer's name added to it, but only, printed for the author, 1662.

Now though I cannot tell certainly who was the author, yet I have thought fit, since the said book *is not easily* to be got in Latin, to insert,

it in the appendix of this history; from whence it may appear, as well as from the writings of some others, that there have been such as either commended the Quakers, or defended their doctrine, though they themselves never could resolve to join with them publicly.

But notwithstanding all this, there have been others who, to render the doctrine, the deportment, and carriage of the Quakers suspected and odious, have been ready to represent their honest behaviour and religious life as pharisaical righteousness; although Christ and his Apostles so earnestly recommended such a life. Pray what mean these words of our Saviour, Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect? Matt. v. 48. but that we ought to endeavour, to the utmost of our power, to lead a virtuous and godly life? When those that heard the Apostle Peter preach, were thereby pricked in their hearts, and said. Men and brethren, what shall we do; Acts ii. 37. 38. he answered them, repent; and at another time, repent ye, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out. Acts iii. 19. The Apostle Paul saith, Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, Rom. xii. 2, And the Apostle Peter, agreeable to this faith, as "obedient *children,* not fashioning yourselves according *to the former lusts* in your ignorance: but as

persecution; and of this judgment were also the first Reformers; and that Archbishop Tillotson was also of the same mind, appears from many passages that are to be found in his sermons.

But though the Quakers have endeavoured to make their life and conversation agree with their christian profession, yet this hath raised envy, grudge, and malice against them: and among the Clergy there have been such, who to render them odious, did not stick to represent them as disguised Papists; notwithstanding these were none of their meanest enemies; for, after a due reflection and consideration it hath seemed to me, that when King Charles the Second was on the throne, the Romanists, and such among the Church of England as favoured them, were the chief promoters of persecution. And these to pursue their wicked ends, would not proceed according to law, in the trials of imprisoned Quakers; but they continually strove to introduce an arbitrary power; and so from time to time, they did not *omit to per*secute the Quakers severely, think*ng that wh*en they were once suppressed, the *her disse*nters must fall of necessity, althoug

they were not for non-resistance; but Providence acted very remarkably; for when a Popish Prince afterwards would introduce liberty of conscience, the eyes of the most moderate maintainers of the Church of England came to be so opened, that in the reign of King William III. they promoted a general liberty of conscience, by which the people called Quakers at length obtained liberty to perform their public worship without molestation.

Thus far the limits of this history are extended; and being arrived there, I did not think my self bound to enlarge any farther; what follows being no more than an overplus.

I have related nothing in this work, but what I believed to be unquestionably true: for what seemed doubtful to me I rather chose to pass by, having never been of so credulous a temper, as easily to take things on trust without due examination: for we often see, that high-soaring imaginations make people believe things that are far from being true; but for all that, we ought not to reject as untrue, every thing that appears strange or unusual; since experience convinceth us of the contrary, viz. that sometimes we have seen a thing which if we had not beheld with our own eyes, we could hardly have believed. Wherefore I would not reject as untrue what was extraordinary or unusual, when it was told me by credible persons, or confirmed by

eye-witnesses. And therefore although my reader may meet with some very singular occurrences, yet this is true, that I have endeavoured to the utmost to relate nothing, but what, after a nice inquiry seemed to me to be true, or at least very probable. And yet I have silently passed over, some cases which I did not question to be true, lest any might think me too credulous

As to the transactions of state affairs, I have taken them mostly from the history of the rebellion and the civil wars in England, written by Edward Earl of Clarendon, and from the memoirs of Edmund Ludlow: yet some few things relating to state affairs, that have not been mentioned by them, nor in any other public history that I know of, I thought worthy to be delivered to posterity by my pen.

For my stile, I know it is but indifferent: I do not pretend to elegance in the English tongue; for being a foreigner, and never having been in England but about the space of ten months and that near fifty years ago, it ought not to be expected that I should write English as well as Dutch, my native language. If therefore my pen sometimes hath been guilty of a belgicism, I beg excuse of my reader. And since my absence hath hindered me from correcting he printer's mistakes, either in omissions or ther errors, such faults I do not think myself *sponsible for*, because I have been fain to trust

the oversight and correction of my work to others, who may have been more liable to let errors escape, than myself should have been. This I hope will suffice to excuse me with discrete persons.

What the envious may judge of this work I little care for, well knowing that the most eminent Authors have been exposed to envy, and been obnoxious to the censures of Pedantic Criticks. Whatever any may think, this I am well assured of, that my chief scope hath been by the relation of many unusual occurrences, not only to delight my reader, but also to lead him to virtue. If I may be so happy as to have contributed thereto, I shall think my pains well rewarded; and if not I shall have at least this satisfaction, that according to my ability I have endeavoured to be beneficial to others, and to edify my fellow-mortals in that which is good, which I cannot but think to be well pleasing to God. And if I have performed any thing that is good, the honour and glory thereof belongs to Him, who is the giver of all good gifts; and it is from Him alone I have received all my ability to do any good thing. Thus concluding, I wish the reader discretion, and an impartial judgment.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THAT the wonderful work of reformation was small, and of very little account in its beginning, and yet hath been advanced with remarkable progress, will, I believe, be denied by none, that have with attention and due consideration read the history of its first rise; since God, the beginner and author of this glorious work, proceeding by steps and degrees, used therein such singular wisdom and prudence, that every circumstance duly considered instead of censuring any part thereof, we shall be obliged to cry out, Thou, O Lord, alone knowest the right times and seasons to open the eyes of people, and to make them capable of thy truth!

If we look to the first beginnings, to go back no farther than John Huss, we shall find, that *though in many* things he was considerably

enlightened, yet he remained still in several gross errors; for although he had a clear sight of the vain doctrines of purgatory, praying to, and worshipping of images, &c. nevertheless it is reported of him, that he favoured the invocation of saints, the seven sacraments, auricular confession, and other tenets of the Church of Rome; and yet christian charity constrains us to believe (though we find protestant writers who deny him the name of a martyr) that by his death, which he suffered in the flames at Constance in Germany, on the sixth of the month called July in the year 1415, he was an acceptable sacrifice unto God: and with what a sedate and well composed mind he suffered death, may be concluded from this, that, seeing a country fellow very zealously carrying wood to burn him, he said, with a smiling countenance, O holy simplicity! and after the fire was kindled, he sang with joy in the flames, his mind being firmly established on God; for he had been faithful according to his knowledge, and had not hid his talent in the earth, but improved it, having shewn himself a zealous promoter of that small illumination which God was pleased to grant him; it being without question great enough in that grievous night of darkness, when Idolatry had so universally blinded mankind, that morally speaking, it would have been impossible for

them to have understood the declaration of an entirely reformed religion; since it is evident that only the most sober and discreet people of that age were capable to understand the doctrine and sermons of that honest man.

To give a clearer prospect into this matter, let it be considered, that if a man had been shut up a long time in a dark prison, where he could neither behold the light of the sun or moon, and should have been let out on a sudden at clear noon day, he would not only, not be able to endure the bright daylight, but would also, if he strove, to open his eyes with force, be in danger of losing his sight, and falling into a worse condition than he was in before; whereas if he had been brought into the open air at the time of twilight, he would by degrees have learned to discern the objects, and come to an ability of beholding every thing in a clear day, aright.

Agreeable to this, in the reigns of King Henry the VIIIth, and the bloody Queen Mary, the principal test in England was, whether a man owned the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; and he who denied this, was to be burnt as an heretick; also in the Netherlands it was enough to bring a man to the stake, if he confessed that he had been re-baptized. Insomuch that it seems the Lord did raise in those days *zealous men chiefly* to testify against the

Idolatry of the host, and the Error of Infant-baptism, that so, gradually he might break down the great structure of human Inventions.

Now how small soever the beginnings of this great work of reformation were, yet it increased from time to time, and oftentimes singular instances were seen of the workings of the power and spirit of God.

In the year 1513, I find that one John Le Clerc of Meaux in France, being at Metz in Lorrain, was filled with such zeal against idolatry, that he broke to pieces the images in a Chapel, which the next day were to have been worshipped in a very solemn manner. And being taken prisoner for this fact, and cruelly tortured to death, he was so eminently strengthened, even to the amazement of the beholders, that in the height of the torments, being torn with red hot pincers, he said from Psalm cxv. Their idols are silver and gold, the work of mens hands.

Not less was the zeal of one Aymond a Vie, imprisoned in France about the year 1541, because he had preached the gospel undauntedly; and though he had been advised to fly, yet he would not be persuaded thereto, but said with an heroic mind, I would rather never have been born, than commit such a base act; for it is the duty of a good pastor not to *fly from danger*, but to stay in it, lest the sheep

be scattered." He was tortured cruelly to betray his fellow believers; but no torment, how great soever, could extort the name of any from him; and he suffered death valiantly for the testimony of Jesus, feeling himself very powerfully strengthened by the Spirit of God, which worked so gloriously in the Martyrs of those times, that those of Merindol in Provence said, "The Holy Ghost is an infallible teacher, by whose inspiration all christians receive the knowledge of truth: this Spirit dwells in them, he regenerates them to a new life, he slayeth the old man in them, and he makes them alive to every good work, consolating them in tribulations, and strengthening them in adversities, &c.'

And of the pious professors at Meaux, I find mentioned in the year 1546, that though a great number of men and women were led prisoners by but a few, they yet made no resistance, but shewed themselves harmless, not sad with grief, but singing with joy.

Nay, so powerfully did God work in Gabriel Beraudin, who was executed at Chambery in Savoy, in the year 1550, that after his tongue was cut off by the hangman, he spoke intelligibly to the people, and celebrated God's praise in a miraculous manner.

Claude Morier being burnt very cruelly at

Lyons in France, wrote whilst in his prison, 'Let us pray our Heavenly Father continually, that he create in us a clean heart, that he give us a new heart, and that he guide our will by the leadings of his Spirit.'

Very remarkable it is also, that Godfried de Hammelle, a year after that, being imprisoned at Tournay in the Netherlands, and being told that the Apostle in his Epistle to the Ephesians had called marriage a sacrament, said in a letter, That though at first this had puzzled him, yet the Lord had not long left him in this difficulty, but put him in mind by his Spirit, that the word there was not sacrament, but mystery.' For the martyrs of those times did not stick to profess with the primitive christians, that the children of God must be led by his Spirit.

Peter Schryver, burnt at Lyons, about the year 1552, wrote from prison, 'That he having heard God's pure word preached, believed it, because the Spirit of God gave him a testimony [or evidence] of it in his heart; and did so confirm it to him, that he could not question it in the least.' He also says in his letter, 'That once having prayed to God, he had been so refreshed by the virtue of his Spirit, and so strengthened, that though he sat in a dark nasty place, yet he felt such consolation and joy, that overcame all sorrow and an-

guish. Nay, said he the least comfort and joy I feel now in my bonds, surpasseth all the joys that ever I had in my life; for now the Holy Ghost puts me in mind of those gracious promises that are made to those who suffer for his name's-sake.' And being asked, how he knew that which he asserted to be the pure word of God? he answered, 'Because it did agree with the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, and that of Jesus Christ; and that the Holy Ghost gave him a certain evidence thereof.' Concerning the indwelling of God's Spirit in man, he also speaks very notably in his letter to John Chambon, (whose wonderful conversion in prison, was an eminent proof of the truth of his sayings) telling him, 'That his Heavenly Father was near him, and by his Spirit dwelt in his heart.'

That this was also the doctrine of John Calvin, appears from his letters to the said man and his fellow-prisoners, where he saith, 'Do not doubt but God will, in those things wherein he will use your service, give you that power, by which the work in you being begun, will be perfected; for that he hath promised to do: and we have many examples and instances of that excellent faith, by which we clearly know, that God never in any thing hath failed those who have been led and guided by his *Spirit*. *Trust*, firmly, brethren, that whe

it is needful, you will become so strong and stedfast, that you shall not faint under any burden of temptations, how great and heavy soever.——The fight is now at hand, to which the Holy Ghost exhorts us, not only that we should go, but even that with all alacrity of mind, we should run.' Many other excellent testimonies of eminent men of those times might be produced: and it also is very remarkable, that Peter Bergier being prisoner at Lyons, in the year 1553, and afterwards suffering death, cried in the midst of the flames, 'I see the heavens opened.'

Now that the doctrine of being taught by the Spirit of God, was generally received by the Martyrs of those times, we learn from many of their writings. Denis Peloquin burnt in the said year at Ville Franche, said in his confession, 'That it was the Holy Ghost that gave him witness in his conscience, that the books of the Old and New Testament were the Holy Scripture.' Lewis de Marsac, being about the same time put to death by fire at Lyons, when he was asked how he knew the Holy Scriptures to be the Gospel? said, 'God hath taught me so by his Spirit:' and being also asked, whether it was his incumbent duty to read the Holy Scriptures, and who had instructed him concerning them? he answered, 'That God by his *Spirit had effected it*, that he got some know-

ledge thereof; and that without his grace, and the enlightening of his Spirit, he could not comprehend and understand any thing in the gospel.' John Calvin did also write to the fore said Peloquin and Marsac: 'God will cause that the confession which you will make according to the measure of the Spirit he has given you, will produce a greater fruit of edification, than all others that might be sent you.' And to Matthew Dymonet, prisoner at Lyons, he wrote thus: 'Submit modestly to the guidings of God's Spirit; answer with all moderation and discretion, keeping to the rule of the Scriptures. I have believed, and therefore I will speak; but let not this hinder thee to speak freely and sincerely, being persuaded that he who promised to give us a mouth, and such wisdom as the gainsayers cannot withstand, will never forsake thee.' More of the like instances of the operations of the Spirit of God in his witnesses I could alledge, if I had so intended but I give here only a slender draught of the sincerity and the principle of those that were come but to the dawnings of the reformation; for higher I cannot esteem that time, because the eyes of the most zealous men of those days, were yet so much covered with the fogs which then were, and the prejudice of the old leaven, that they did not discern all things *in a full clearness*; for one saw the error

of one thing, and others of another; but human affection did work too strong, and thereby they judged one another, as is abundantly mentioned in history.

If we rightly look into this, it seems very absurd, to think that the Reformation (which in former times had been pretty much advanced by some eminent men; as Luther, Melancthon, Oecolompadius, Calvin, Menno, and others) then was brought to perfection; for we perceive that even those reformers themselves, at first had not such a clear sight into many things, as afterwards they got; which to demonstrate at large, I count unnecessary; since England being the chief stage on which the things I intend to describe, have been transacted, I will turn my face thitherward, to take a view cursorily of the beginning and process of the reformation there.

Passing by Wickliff and others, I begin with Thomas Cranmer, who, because of his sincere and good life, being advanced by King Henry the VIIIth to the Archbishop's See of Canterbury, did all that was in his power to reform the errors crept into the church of Rome, and therefore in the year 1536, he exhorted the King who *much* loved him, to proceed to a reformation, and *that nothing in religion* should be determined *without clear proofs* from Scripture, and therefore he *proposed that* these points, "Whether

there was a purgatory; Whether deceased saints, ought to be invocated; and how images were to be regarded," well needed to be enquired into; since it began to appear that several things were errors, for which some people not long before had suffered death.

Some time after, Thomas Cromwell, a chief minister of the kingdom, and a great friend of Cranmer, published some injunctions in the King's name, wherein all churchmen were required no more to recommend to people, images, relicks, or pilgrimages, but to teach them the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments in English. This was a great step towards the translation of the bible into English, which being also furthered by Cranmer, the next year came out in print; and by the King's warrant the clergy were required to set up bibles in their churches; so that now all that could, might read the holy Scripture in their native tongue. Cranmer not content with this, obtained in the year, 1539, a permission for all people to have the bible in their houses; yet for all that, he still was an assertor of the corporal presence of Christ in the host, until in the year 1549, in the reign of King Edward VI. when the times were more free, he was induced by Nicholas Ridley, a zealous reformer, and afterwards a martyr under Queen Mary, to enquire better into the thing, and to discover the absurdity of it;

from whence he did not only oppose and suppress that superstition, but also many others; and it is likely, that if opportunity had been given him, he would have reformed more. Nevertheless it cannot but be wondered at, that he who seems to have been a man, of a meek temper, could give his vote to the burning of those whom he looked upon to be hereticks; as John Nicholson, *alias* Lambert, in the reign of Henry VIII. for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; and Joan Bocher, and George Parr, under Edward VI. the first for denying that Christ had taken flesh from the virgin Mary, and the latter for not believing the deity of Christ: from whence we may see, what a wrong zeal for religion is able to effect: but without question, he was come to be of another mind, when in the year 1556, under the bloody reign of Queen Mary, this was not only laid in his dish, but he was also forced to undergo the same lot of being burnt alive.

Now, though after his death, the bishops under Queen Elizabeth were content with the reformation made by Cranmer, yet it pleased God in the year 1568. to raise other persons, that testified publicly against many of the remaining superstitions; and although Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benson were imprisoned by the Queen's order, yet they got many followers, and also the name of Puritans. And

notwithstanding the Archbishop, to prevent this drew up some articles of faith, to be signed by all clergymen, yet he met with great opposition in the undertaking: for one Robert Brown, a young student of Cambridge, (from whom the name of Brownists was afterwards borrowed) and Richard Harrison, a schoolmaster, published in the year 1583 some books, wherein they shewed how much the church of England was still infected with Romish errors; which was of such effect, that the eyes of many people came thereby to be opened; who so valiantly maintained that doctrine which they believed to be the truth, that some of the most zealous among them, viz. Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, about the year 1593, were put to death because of their testimony, more (as may very well be believed) by the instigation of the clergy, than by the desire of the Queen: for some time after it happened, that she asked Dr. Reynolds his opinion of those men, especially Barrow and Greenwood: to which he answered, "That it would not avail any thing to shew his judgment concerning them, seeing they were put to death." But the Queen yet pressing him farther, he said, 'That he was persuaded if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church *of God*, as had been raised up in *that age.' At which* the Queen sighed, and said

no more. But afterwards riding by the place where they were executed, and calling to mind their death, she demanded of the earl of Cumberland, that was present when they suffered, what end they made? he answered 'A very godly end, and they prayed for your majesty and the State.' Moreover one Philips, a famous preacher, having seen Barrow's preparation for death, said, 'Barrow, Barrow, my soul be with thine.'

After the death of Queen Elizabeth, when James I. had ascended the throne, the followers of those men, suffered much for their separation from the church of England: but very remarkable it is, that even those of that persuasion, of which many in the reign of King Charles I. went to New-England, to avoid the persecution of the bishops, afterwards themselves turned cruel persecutors of pious people, by inhuman whippings, &c. and lastly by putting some to death by the hands of a hangman; a clear proof indeed, that those in whom such a ground of bitterness was left still, though it had not always brought forth the like abominable fruits were not come yet to a perfect reformation; for though the stem of human traditions and institutions sometimes had been shaken strongly, yet much of the root was left. Therefore it pleased God, who is used to enlighten men gradually, to make yet a clearer discovery of his truth, which in some places already darted forth

its beams to mankind, in a time when many godly people were zealously seeking after a farther manifestation of the will of God, from a sense that, notwithstanding all their outward observations of religious performances, there still stood a partition-wall, whereby the soul was hindered from living in perfect peace with its Creator.

For in that time there were in England many separate societies, and amongst the rest also, such as were called Seekers, who at first seemed to promise great matters; but the sequel shewed that their foundation was not the Rock of Ages, and so divers of them soon lost their first integrity. Now those people who began to take heed to a divine conviction in the conscience, and accordingly preached to others the doctrine of an inward light, wherewith Christ had enlightened men, in the latter end of the time of King Charles I. began to increase in number, and they became a separate society among men, and in process of time, the name of QUAKERS, was in scorn imposed on them; and in most countries in Europe, they have been accused of many exorbitant absurdities, both in life and doctrine. I have designed to describe impartially, and according to truth, the first beginnings and rise, and also the progress of that people, and to *stretch out the relation* of their increase and

transactions, so far as my time of life and leisure will permit.

I enter upon a work, which, consisting of many very singular instances, in its beginning appears hard and difficult, and in the process often sad and dreadful. For among manifold adversities, we shall not only meet with bitter revilings, scornful mockings, rude abuses, and bloody blows from the fool-hardy rabble, but also severe persecutions, hard imprisonments, grievous banishments, unmerciful spoil of goods, cruel whippings, cutting off of ears, smotherings in prisons, and also putting to death by the hands of the hangman, by order of the magistrates: afterwards some quiet and rest; then again severe persecution, until the furious promoters of it, at last wearied, desisted from their mischievous labour for a time, more by being at their wits-end, than out of mercy. And among all these vicissitudes, notable instances have been seen of unfeigned godliness, sincere love, much true-heartedness, extraordinary meekness, singular patience, ardent zeal, undaunted courage, and unshaken stedfastness, even among the female sex, which though the weakest, yet in the hardest attacks, shewed a more than manly spirit; insomuch, that seldom any age hath afforded matter where more powerful examples to virtue have been seen.

The first I find that was thus immediately

reached in his mind, was a young man called George Fox, born at Drayton in Leicestershire, in the month called July, in the year 1624, from parents that were members of the public church, or church of England, as appeareth to me from a paper, in his life-time drawn up by his order, at my request, and sent me. His father was Christopher Fox, a weaver by trade, an honest man, and of such a virtuous life, that his neighbours were used to call him righteous Christer. His mother was Mary Lago, an upright woman, and of the stock of the martyrs. This George Fox was even in his minority endued with a gravity and stayedness of mind, that is seldom seen in children; so that he seeing how old people carried themselves lightly and wantonly, had such an aversion to it, that he would say within himself, 'If ever I come to be a man, surely I will not be so wanton.' His parents in the mean while endeavoured to train him up, as they did their other children, in the common way of worship, his mother especially contributing thereto, as being eminent for piety; but even from a child he was seen to be of another frame of mind than his brethren; for he was more religious, retired, still, and solid, and was also observing beyond his age, as appeared from the answers he gave, and the questions he asked concerning religious matters, to the astonishment of those that heard

him. His mother seeing this extraordinary temper and godliness, which so early did shine through him, so that he would not meddle with childish plays, did not think fit to trouble him about the way of worship, but carried herself indulgent towards him. Mean-while he learned to read pretty well, and to write so much as would serve him afterwards to signify his meaning to others. When he was come to eleven years of age, he endeavoured to live a pure and righteous life, and to be faithful in all things, viz. inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; since the Lord by his good Spirit had shewed him, that he was to keep his word always, and that he ought not to commit excess in eating or drinking. Thus growing up in virtue, some of his relations were for having him trained up in the schools, to make a priest of him; but others persuaded to the contrary, and so he was put to a shoe-maker that dealt also in wool and in cattle. In his master's employment, he took most delight in sheep, and was very skilful in what belonged thereto, for it was an employment that very well suited his mind; and his thus being a shepherd, was, as an eminent author saith, 'A just emblem of his after ministry and service.' He acquitted himself so diligently in his business, and minded it so well, that his master was successful in his trade whilst George was with him. He often used

in his dealings the word Verily, and he kept so strict to it, that people that knew him, would say, 'If George says Verily, there is no altering him.'

Now, though my design is not to give a description of state-affairs, yet I find it necessary to mention something of the chief temporal occurrences in England, in as much as they may have relation to the affairs of the Church, lest my history might seem an incomplete work. Transiently therefore I will say, that in England about this time, appeared the beginning of a civil war, in which religion had some share; for the Bishops began to introduce several innovations, and caused not only rails to be made about the communion-table, which now was called the high altar; but those that approached it, bowed thrice, and a bow was made at the pronouncing of the name of Jesus. Thus ceremonies increased from time to time; and those preachers that were really religious, and spoke most to edification, were slighted and set by; the bishops in their visitations, minding chiefly to promote such rites as favoured Popery: and this was not only done in England, but in Scotland also endeavours were made to bring in Episcopacy. This caused a ferment among the people, which when it came to an insurrection, they generally believed that it was for religion's sake, which made some

cry in the open streets, where there was any, confluence of people, "To your tents, O Israel." And because the Parliament was of opinion that King Charles I. encroached upon their privileges, which they would not suffer, this so exasperated that Prince, that he brought together an army, and set up his standard, first on the castle of Nottingham, where it was blown down the same evening, on the 25th of the month called August, in the year 1642. But before that time, the king had taken possession of some fortified places, and the Parliament on the other hand, had also got some in their power. Some time after, a battle was fought between the Royalists and the Parliament, near Edge-Hill in Warwickshire, where neither party prevailed much.

About this time George Fox, who more and more endeavoured to lead a godly life, being come to the nineteenth year of his age, it happened at a fair, that a cousin of his and another coming to him, asked whether he would drink a jug of beer with them; he being thirsty, said yes, and went with them to an inn: but after each had drank a glass, they began to drink healths, and said, that he that would not drink, should pay for all. This grieved George much, seeing that people who professed to be religious, behaved themselves thus, and therefore he *rose up to be gone;* and putting his hand into

his pocket, he took out a groat, and laid it down upon the table, saying, 'If it be so I will leave you;' and so he went away; and when his business was done, he returned home; but did not go to bed that night, but prayed, and cryed earnestly to the Lord; and it seemed to him that his supplications were answered after this manner, 'Thou seest how young people go together into vanity and old people into the earth; therefore thou must forsake all, both young and old, and be as a stranger to them.' This, which he took to be a divine admonition, made such a powerful impression on his mind, that he resolved to break off all familiar fellowship and conversation with young and old, and even to leave his relations, and live a separate and retired life. On the ninth of September, in the year 1643, he departed to Lutterworth, where he staid some time, and from thence went to Northampton, where he also made some stay, and passed to Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire; and after having staid a while there, he went to Barnet, whither he came in the month called June, in the year 1644.

Whilst he thus led a solitary life, he fasted often, and read the holy Scriptures diligently, so that some professors took notice of him, and sought to be acquainted with him. But he soon perceiving they did not possess what they professed, grew afraid of them, and shunned

their company. In this time he fell into a strong temptation, almost to despair, and was in mighty trouble, sometimes keeping himself retired in his chamber, and often walking solitary to wait upon the Lord. In this state he saw how Christ had been tempted; but when he looked to his own condition, he wondered, and said, 'Was I ever so before?' He began to think also that he had done amiss against his relations, because he had forsaken them; and he called to mind all his former time, to consider whether he had wronged any. Thus temptations grew more and more; and when Satan could not effect his design upon him that way, he laid snares for him to draw him to commit some sin, thereby to bring him to despair. He was then about twenty years of age, and continued a long time in this condition, and would fain have put it from him; which made him go to many a priest to look for comfort, but he did not find it from them. In this miserable state he went to London, in hopes of finding some relief among the great professors of that city: but being come there, he saw them much darkened in their understandings. He had an uncle there, one Pickering, a baptist, and those of that persuasion were tender then; yet he could not resolve to impart his mind to them, because he saw all, young and old, where they were. And though some

of the best would have had him staid there, yet he was fearful, and so returned homewards; for having understood that his parents and relations were troubled at his absence, he would rather go to them again lest he should grieve them. Now when he was come into Leicestershire, his relations would have had him married; but he prudently told them, he was but a lad, and must get wisdom. Others would have had him in the auxiliary band among the forces of the Parliament, which being entered now into an intestine war with the King, had, with their forces this year, beaten not only the King's army under Prince Rupert, but also conquered the city of York. But to persuade George to list himself a soldier, was so against his mind, that he refused it, and went to Coventry, where he took a chamber for a while at a professor's house, where he staid some time, there being many people in that town who endeavoured to live religiously. After some time he went into his own country again, and was there about a year, in great sorrows and trouble, walking many nights by himself.

Nathaniel Stevens, the priest of Drayton, (the town of George's birth) would often come to him, and George to the priest; and when Stevens visited him, he would sometimes bring another *priest along* with him, and then George *would ask them* questions, and reason with

them. Once Stevens asked him, why Christ cried out upon the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and why he said, 'If it be possible let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine be done?' To this, George answered thus: 'At that time the sins of all mankind were upon Christ, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an offering for them, as he was man, but died not, as he was God: and so, in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world.' When George Fox spoke this, he was in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings, and what he went through. And his saying did so please the priest, that he said, it was a very good, full answer, and such an one as he had not heard. He would also applaud and speak highly of George Fox to others, and what George said in discourse to him, that he would preach of on the first days of the week: for which George did not like him.

After some time he went to an ancient priest at Mansetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he being altogether ignorant of George's condition, bid him take tobacco, and *sing psalms.* But George signified that he was *no lover of tobacco, and* as for psalms, he was

not in a state to sing. Then the priest bid him come again, and that then he would tell him many things. But when George came, the priest was angry and pettish, for George's former words had displeased him; and he was so indiscreet, that what George had told him of his sorrows and griefs, he told again to his servants, so that it got among the milk-lasses; and it grieved him to have opened his mind to such an one; and he saw they were all miserable comforters. Then he heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and therefore he went to him, but found him like an empty hollow cask.

Hearing afterwards of one Dr. Cradock of Coventry, he went to him also, and asked him whence temptations and despair did arise, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. The priest, instead of answering, asked him, who was Christ's father and mother? George, told him, Mary was his mother, and he was supposed to be the son of Joseph; but he was the son of God. Now as they were walking together in Dr. Cradock's garden, it happened that George in turning, set his foot on the side of a bed, which so disturbed that teacher, as if his house had been on fire, and thus all their discourse was lost; and George went away in sorrow, worse than *he was* when he came, seeing he found *none that could* reach his condition. After this

he went to one Macham, a priest of high account; and he, no more skilful than the others, was for giving George some physic, and for bleeding him; but they could not get one drop of blood from him, either in the arms or the head, his body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief, and trouble, which were so great upon him, that he could have wished never to have been born, to behold the vanity and wickedness of men; or that he had been born blind, and so he might never have seen it; and deaf, that he might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. And when the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves, he went from house to house, looking for poor widows, and giving them some money. And when he was invited to marriages (as sometimes he was) he would go to none at all; but the next day, or soon after, he went and visited those that were newly married; and if they were poor he gave them some money; for he had wherewith both to keep himself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the needful.

Whilst the mind of George Fox was thus in trouble, the state of England was also in a great stir; for the Parliament was for turning out of bishops, and introducing the Presbyterian directory; which however as yet could not well be

effected, although William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been made to stoop to the block; and the power of the King by this time was much weakened; for his army was this summer, near Naseby, not far from Leicester, overcome by an army of untrained bands, and about six thousand men, among whom many great officers were taken prisoners, and his cabinet, with abundance of letters of great moment, were seized; insomuch, that though they had some skirmishes, yet no decisive battle was fought afterwards.

But since a circumstantial description of these state-affairs is not within my design, I will return again to George Fox, who in the beginning of the year 1646, as he was going to Coventry, and entering towards the gate, a consideration arose in him, how it was said that all christians are believers, both Protestants and Papists: and it was opened to him, that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and passed from death to life, and that none were true believers but such; and though others said they were believers, yet they were not. At another time as he was walking in a field on a first-day morning, it was discovered unto his understanding, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man to be a minister of Christ. At this he wondered, because it was the common belief of people; but

for all that, he took this to be a Divine revelation, and he admired the goodness of the Lord, believing now the ordinary ministers not to be such as they pretended to be. This made him unwilling to go any more to church, as it was called, to hear the priest Stevens, believing that he could not profit thereby; and therefore instead of going thither, he would get into the orchard, or the fields, by himself, with his Bible, which he esteemed above all books, seeking thus to be edified in solitariness. At this his relations were much troubled; but he told them, did not John the Apostle say to the believers, "that they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them;" and though they knew this to be Scripture, and that it was true, yet it grieved them, because he would not go to hear the Priest with them, but separated himself from their way of worship: for he saw now that a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be; and that being bred at the universities did not qualify a man to be a minister of Christ. Thus he lived by himself, not joining with any, nay, not of the dissenting people, but became a stranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

Some time after, it was opened in him, that God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands. And though this *seemed at first strange* to him, because both

priests and people used to call their churches dreadful places, holy ground, and temples of God; yet it was immediately shewed him, that the Lord did not dwell in these temples which man had erected, but in peoples hearts, and that His people were the temple he dwelt in. This was discovered to him when he was walking in the fields to the house of one of his relations. And when he came there, it was told him, that Nathaniel Stevens, the priest had been there, and told them he was afraid of Fox, for going after new lights. This made him smile, because now he saw the true state of the Priests. But he said nothing of this to his relations, who, though they saw that something more was required than the vulgar way of worship, yet they continued therein, being grieved because he would not also go to hear the Priests. Only he told them there was an Anointing in man, to teach him; and that the Lord would teach his people himself. He had great openings now concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when he spake of them, the priests and professors would say, that was 'a sealed up book.' But to this he said, 'Christ could open the seals, and that the things contained in that book, very nearly concerned us; since the Epistles of the Apostles were written to the saints of those times, but the Revelations point at *things to come.*'

In England, in those days were people of very odd notions, and among the rest such as held, 'that women have no souls.' He lighting on some of these, could not forbear reproving them, since the Scripture, as he told them plainly, held forth the contrary; for the blessed Virgin Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord; and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." He also came among a people that relied much on dreams; but he told them, 'Except they could distinguish between dream and dream, their observations would be nothing but confusion, since there were three sorts of dreams; for multiplicity of business sometimes caused dreams; and there were whisperings of Satan in the night seasons; and there were also speakings of God to man in dreams.' But because these people were more in want of a clear discerning, than of good will, they at length came out of those imaginations, and at last became fellow-believers with him; who, though he had great openings in his understanding, yet great trouble and temptations many times came upon him; so that when it was day, he wished for night, and when it was night he wished for day. Nevertheless among all those troubles, his understanding was so opened, that he could say with David, 'Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge;' for

even in these troubles he had great openings of many places in Scripture.

As to state-affairs, things continued in a distracted condition; for the King, who after his army had been beaten, was gone to the Scots, was by them delivered up to the English; to whom now he could no more prescribe laws, but was fain to receive them. And the Churchmen were also at variance; for the Independents (several of which sat also in Parliament) began to say, that between Episcopacy, (against which they had fought conjunctly) and Presbytery, the difference was only in the name, and some few outward circumstances, since people of a tender conscience might apprehend no less oppression from the Presbyterians, than from the Episcopalians: and that this fear was not vain or idle, time afterwards hath shewn abundantly.

But let us return to George Fox, who in the beginning of the year 1647, feeling some drawings to go into Derbyshire, went thither, and meeting there with some friendly people, had many discourses with them. Then passing farther to the Peak-Country, he met with more such people, and also with some that were swayed by empty and high notions. And travelling into Nottinghamshire, there he met with a tender people, and among these one Elizabeth *Hootton*, of which woman more will

be said in the sequel: with these he had some meetings and discourses. But his troubles and temptations still continued, and he fasted much, and walked often abroad in solitary places, taking his bible with him; and then sat in hollow trees, and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently in the night he walked mournfully about, being surrounded with many sorrows in the times of these first workings of the Lord in him.

During all this time, he never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave up himself to the disposing of the Lord, having forsaken not only all evil company, but also taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations; and so he travelled up and down as a stranger on the earth, which way he felt his heart inclined: and when he came into a town, he took a chamber to himself there, and tarried sometimes a month, sometimes more, sometimes less, in a place; for he was afraid of staying long in any place, lest, being a tender young man, he should be hurt by too familiar a conversation with men.

Now though it might seem not very agreeable with the gravity of my work to mention, *what* kind of clothes he wore in these first years *of his peregrination*; yet I do not count it *absurd to say here*, that it is indeed true what *a certain author*, viz. Gerard Croes, relates of

him, that he was clothed with leather; but not, as the said author adds, because he could not, nor would not, forget his former leather-work; but it was partly for the simplicity of that dress, and also because such a clothing was strong, and needed but little mending or repairing, which was commodious for him who had no steady dwelling place, and every where in his travelling about sought to live in a lonely state: for keeping himself thus as a stranger, he sought heavenly wisdom, and endeavoured to get knowledge of the Lord, and to be weaned from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone. Although his troubles were great, yet they were not so continual, but that he had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such an heavenly joy, that admiring the love of God to his soul, he would say with the Psalmist, "Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field." Now he regarded the Priests but little, because he clearly saw that to be trained up in the Universities, and to be instructed in languages, liberal arts, and the like sciences, was not sufficient to make any one a minister of the gospel; but he looked more after the dissenting people; yet as he had forsaken the Priests, so he left the separate preachers also, because he saw there was none among them all that could speak to his condi-

tion. And when all his hopes in them, and in all men were gone, then he heard according to what he relates himself, a voice which said, 'there is one. even Christ Jesus that can speak to thy condition.' Having heard this, his heart leapt for joy, and it was shewed him why there was none upon the earth that could speak to his condition, namely, that he might give the Lord alone all the glory, and that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence.

He then experimentally knowing that Christ enlightens man, and gives him grace, faith, and power, his desires after the Lord, and his zeal in the pure knowledge of God grew stronger, so that he wished to increase therein without the help of any man, book, or writing. Yet he was a diligent reader of the Holy Scriptures, that speak at large of God and Christ, though he knew him not but by Revelation, as He, who had the key, did open. Thus he entered into no fellowship with any society of people, because he saw nothing but corruptions every where, which made him endeavour to keep fellowship only with Christ; since in the greatest temptations, when he almost despaired, it was shewed him, that Christ had been tempted by the same Devil; but that he had overcome him, and bruised his head, and that therefore through the power, light, grace and spirit of God, he *himself might also* overcome. Thus the Lord

assisted him in the deepest miseries and sorrows, and he found his grace to be sufficient: insomuch that, though he had yet some desires after the help of men, his thirst was chiefly after the Lord, the Creator of all, and his Son Jesus Christ; because nothing could give him any comfort but the Lord by his power; and he clearly saw that all the world, though he had possessed a king's state, would not have profited him.

In this condition his understanding came more and more to be opened, so that he saw how death in Adam had passed upon all men; but that by Christ, who tasted death for all men, a deliverance from it, and an entrance into God's Kingdom, might be obtained. Nevertheless his temptations continued, so that he began to question whether he might have sinned against the Holy Ghost. This brought great perplexity and trouble over him many days; yet he still gave up himself to the Lord: and one day when he had been walking solitarily abroad, and was come home, he became exceeding sensible of the love of God to him, so that he could not but admire it. Here it was shewed him, that all was to be done in and by Christ; that he conquers and destroys the Tempter, the Devil, and all his works; and that all these troubles and temptations were good for him for the trial of his *faith*. *The effect* of this was, that though

is mind was much exercised, yet he
by a secret belief; and his soul by a
e, which was to him as an anchor, was
nurt in the dissolute world, swimming
ne raging waves of temptations. After
he relates himself) there did a pure fire
in him ; and he saw that the appearance
ist in the heart was as a refiner's fire,
s the fullers soap; and that a spiritual dis-
ng was given to him, by which he saw
t it was that veiled his mind, and what it
that did open it: and that which could
give up to the will of God, nor yield up
f to die by the Cross, to wit, the power of
. On the other hand, he perceived it was
groans of the Spirit which did open his
erstanding, and that in that spirit there
be waiting upon God to obtain redemp-

bout this time he heard of a woman in Lan-
ire that had fasted twenty two days; and
ent to see her; but coming there he saw
she was under a temptation: and after he
spoken to her what he felt on his mind, he
her, and went to Duckenfield and Manches-
where he staid a while among the profes-
he found there, and declared to them that
trine which now he firmly believed to be
h; and some were convinced, so as to re-
e the inward divine teaching of the Lord

and take that for the rule. This by what I can find, was the first beginning of George Fox's preaching, which as I have been credibly informed, in those early years chiefly consisted of some few, but powerful and piercing words, to those whose hearts were already in some measure prepared to be capable of receiving this doctrine. And it seems to me that these people, and also Elizabeth Hooton (already mentioned) have been the first who by such a mean or weak preaching came to be his fellow believers: though there were also some others who by the like immediate way, as George Fox himself, were convinced in their minds, and came to see that they ought diligently to take heed to the teachings of the grace of God that had appeared to them. And thus it happened that these unexpectedly and unawares came to meet with fellow-believers, which they were not acquainted with before, as will be more circumstantially related hereafter.

But to return again to George Fox, it set the professors of those times in a rage, that some of their adherents hearkened to his preaching; for they could not endure to hear perfection spoken of, and a holy and sinless life, as a state that could be obtained here. Not long after he travelled to Broughton in Leicestershire, and there went into a meeting of the Baptists, where some people of other notions also came. This gave him

occasion to preach the doctrine of truth among them, and that not in vain; for since he had great openings in the Scriptures, and that a special power of the Lord's workings began to spring in those parts, several were so reached in their minds, that they came to be convinced, and were turned from darkness to light, partly by his preaching, and partly by reasoning with some. Yet he himself was still sometimes under great temptations, without finding any to open his condition to, but the Lord alone, unto whom he cried night and day for help.

Some time after he went back into Nottinghamshire, and there it pleased the Lord to shew him, that the natures of those things which were hurtful without, were also within, in the minds of wicked men; and that the natures of dogs, swine, vipers, and those of Cain, Ishmael, Esau, Pharaoh, &c. were in the hearts of many people. But since this did grieve him, he cried to the Lord, saying, 'why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?' and inwardly it was answered him, 'That it was needful he should have a sense of all conditions; how else should he speak to all conditions?' He also saw there was an ocean of darkness and death; but withal an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness; in all which he perceived the infinite love of God. About that time it happened that walking in the

town of Mansfield, by the Steeple-house side, it was inwardly told him, 'that which people trample upon must be thy food;' and at the saying of this, it was opened to him, that it was the life of Christ people did trample upon; and that they fed one another with words, without minding that thereby the blood of the Son of God was trampled under foot. And though it seemed at first strange to him, that he should feed on that which the high professors trample upon, yet it was clearly opened to him how this could be.

Then many people came far and near to see him; and though he spoke sometimes, to open religious matters to them, yet he was fearful of being drawn out by them. Now the reason of people thus flocking to him might proceed partly from this: there was one Brown who upon his death-bed spoke by way of prophecy many notable things concerning George Fox, and among the rest, 'that he should be made instrumental by the Lord to the conversion of people.' And of others that then were something in shew, he said, 'that they should come to nothing.' Which was fulfilled in time, though this man did not live to see it, for he was not raised from his sickness. But after he was buried, George Fox fell into such a condition that he not only looked like *a dead body*, but unto many that *came to see him* he seemed as if he had been

really dead; and many visited him for about fourteen days time, who wondered to see him so much altered in countenance.

At length his sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from him, so that he could have wept night and day with tears of joy in brokenness of heart. And to give an account of his condition to those that are able to comprehend it, I will use his own words: 'I saw,' saith he, 'into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words: for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ: even through that darkness was I brought which covered all the whole world, and which chained down all and shut up all in the death. And the same eternal power of God, which brought me through those things, was that which afterwards shook the nation, priests, professors and people. Then could I say, I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it and was brought over it, and the power of it into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white and the seed of God lying thick *in the ground*, as ever did wheat, that was

sown outwardly, and none to gather it: and for this I mourned with tears.'. Thus far George Fox's own words, of whom now a report went abroad, that he was a young man that had a discerning spirit: whereupon many professors, priests, and people, came to him, and his ministry increased; for he having received great openings, spoke to them of the things of God, and was heard with attention by many, who going away, spread the fame thereof. Then came the Tempter, and set upon him again, charging him that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but he could not tell in what; and then Paul's condition came before him, how after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him, that he might not exalt himself. Thus George Fox, by the assistance of the Lord, got also over that temptation.

Now the 47th year of that century drew to an end, and state-affairs in England grew more and more clouded and intricate; for the king not thinking himself any longer safe at Hampton-court, whither he had been brought from the army, he withdrew to the Isle of Wight, whilst the Parliament still insisted on the abrogation of Episcopacy, and would be master of the Military Forces: which the king not being willing to yield to, was now kept in closer custody, and

no more regarded as a Sovereign, to whom obedience was due from the Parliament.

Under these intestine troubles, the minds of many people came to be fitted to receive a nearer way and doctrine of godliness; and it was in the year 1648, that several persons seeking the Lord, were become fellow-believers, and entered into society with George Fox; insomuch that they began to have great meetings in Nottinghamshire, which were visited by many. About that time, there was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house, and George Fox went among them, and heard them discourse concerning what the Apostle Paul said, He had not known sin, but by the law, which said, thou shalt not lust. And since they held that to be spoken of the outward law, George Fox told them, Paul spoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the lust of persecution; but it was the law of God in his mind, which he served, and which the law in his members warred against. This saying found so much entrance, that those of the priests and professors, that were most moderate, yielded, and consented, that it was not the outward law, but the inward, that shewed the inward lust, which the apostle spoke of. After this he went again to Mansfield, where *was a great meeting* of professors and other

people; and being among them, and moved to pray, such an extraordinary power appeared, and seized on the hearts of some in so eminent a manner, that even the house seemed to be shaken: and after prayer, some of the auditory began to say, that this resembled that in the days of the Apostles, when on the day of Pentecost, the house where they were met, was shaken.

Not long after this, there was another great meeting of professors, where G. Fox came also, who hearing them discourse about the blood of Christ, he cried out among them: do ye not see the blood of Christ? ye must see it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God. This was a doctrine which startled these professors, who would have the blood of Christ only without them, not thinking that it was to be felt inwardly. But a certain captain, whose name was Amos Stoddard, was so reached, that seeing how they endeavoured to bear G. Fox down with many words, hesaid, Let the 'youth speak, hear the youth speak;' and coming afterwards to be more acquainted with G. Fox, he had an opportunity to be farther instructed in the way of godliness, of which he came to be a faithful follower.

Some time *after*, G. Fox returned to Leicestershire, *his own country*, where several tend

people came to be convinced by his preaching. Passing thence into Warwickshire, he met with a great company of professors, who being come together in the field, were praying and expounding the Scriptures. Here the Bible was given him, which he opened on the 5th of Matthew, were Christ expounded some parts of the law; from whence G. Fox took occasion to open to them the inward and outward state of man: and that which he held forth getting some ground, they fell into a fierce contention among themselves, and so parted.

Then he heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester, for a dispute, wherein those of several persuasions, as Presbyterians, Independants, Baptists, and Episcopalians, were said to be all concerned. This meeting being appointed to be in the steeple-house, he went thither, where abundance of people were met, some of those that spoke being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit. At last, after several reasonings, a woman started a question, and asked what that birth was the Apostle Peter spoke of; viz. "a being born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever?" The priest, instead of answering this question, said to her, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the church;' though he had before given liberty for any to speak. This kindled G. Fox's zeal, so that he stept up and asked the priest: dost

thou call this place, (the steeple-house) a church? or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church? but the priest not answering to this, asked, what a church was? and G. Fox told him, the church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of: but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house, made up of lime, stones, and wood. This caused such a stir, that the Priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, whereby the dispute was marred. But G. Fox went to a great Inn, and there disputed with the Priests and Professors of all sorts, maintaining what he had said, till they all went away; yet several were convinced that day, and among these, the woman who asked the question aforesaid.

After this, G. Fox returned again into Nottinghamshire, and went into the Vale of Beavor, where he preached repentance to the people: and he staying some weeks there, and passing through several towns, many were convinced of the truth of his doctrine. About that time, as he was sitting by the fire one morning, a cloud came over him, and a temptation beset him, and he sitting still, it was suggested, All things come by nature; and he was in a manner quite clouded: but he *continuing* to sit still, the people of *the house perceived* nothing; at length a living

hope arose in him, and also a voice, that said, there is a living God who made all things, and immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, whereby his heart was made glad, and he praised the Lord.

Not long after, he met with some people that had a mischievous notion, that there was no God, but that all things came by nature. But he, reasoning with them, so confounded them, that some were fain to confess, that there was a living God. Then he saw that it was good for him to have been tried under such a cloud. Now in those parts he had great meetings, and, a divine power working in that country, and thereabouts, many were gathered. Then coming into Derbyshire, there was a great meeting of his friends at Eaton, where many of them began to preach the doctrine of truth, who afterwards were moved to declare the truth in other places also.

Geoge Fox coming about this time to Mansfield, heard, that in a town about eight miles off, there was to be a sitting of justices, to deliberate about hiring of servants; and he, feeling a constraint upon his mind, went thither, and exhorted them, not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them; and the servants, many of which were come thither, he admonished, to do their duty, and serve honestly; and they all received his exhor-

tation kindly. He felt himself also moved, to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, warning them to leave off oppression, deceit, and other evils. And having heard at Mansfield of one in the country, who was a common drunkard, and a noted whore-master, and a poet also, he went to him, and reproved him in an awful manner for his evil courses; which so struck him, that coming afterwards to G. Fox, he told him, that he was so smitten when he spoke to him, that he had scarce any strength left in him. And this man was so thoroughly convinced, that he turned from his wickedness, and became an honest, sober man, to the astonishment of those that knew him before. Thus the work of G. Fox's ministry went forward, and many were thereby turned from darkness to light; and divers meetings of his friends, who were much increased in number since the year 1646, were now set up in several places.

George Fox was now come up to quite another state than formerly he had lived in; for he knew not only a renewing of the heart, a restoration of the mind, but the virtues of the creatures were also opened to him; so that he began to deliberate whether he should practise physic for the good of mankind. But God had another service for him; *and it* was showed him, that he *was to enter into* a spiritual labour; and also

that those who continued faithful to the Lord, might attain to a state in which the sinful inclination was subdued. Moreover the three great professions in the world, viz. physic, divinity, (so called) and law, were opened to him, whereby he saw that the physicians wanting the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made, knew not their virtues: that the lawyers generally were void of equity and justice, and so out of the law of God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the Spirit of God that was oppressed in man: and that the priests for the most part, were out of the true faith, which Christ is the author of, and which purifies the heart, and brings man to have access to God. So that these physicians, lawyers, and priests, who pretended to cure the body, to establish the property of the people, and to cure the soul, were all without the true knowledge and wisdom they ought to possess. Yet he felt there was a divine power, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive, and bow unto it. And he saw also, that though the priests did err, yet they were not the greatest deceivers spoken of in the scriptures; but that these great deceivers were such, who, as Cain, had heard the voice of God, and who, as Corah, *Dathan, and* Abiram, and their company, were *come out of Egypt*, and through the Red Sea,

and had praised God on the banks of the sea shore; and who being come as far as Balaam, could speak the word of the Lord, as having heard his voice, and known his Spirit, so that they could see the star of Jacob, and the goodliness of Israel's tent, which no enchantment could prevail against: these that could speak so much of their divine experience, and yet turned from the Spirit of God, and went into the gainsaying, these he saw would be the great deceivers, far beyond the priests. He saw also that people generally did read the Scriptures, without having a true sense of them; for some cried out much against Cain, Ishmael, Esau, Balaam, Judas, &c. not regarding that the nature of these was yet alive in themselves; whereby they always applied to others that nature in which they themselves lived.

The Lord had also opened to him now, that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ; and he saw that they that believed in it, came of out of condemnation, and became the children of the light: but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. All this he saw in the pure openings of the light. He also saw that God had afforded a measure of his Spirit to all men, and that thereby they *could truly* come to serve the Lord, *and to worship him;* and that his grace, which

brings salvation, and had appeared to all men, was able to bring them into the favour of God.

And on a certain time, as he was walking in the fields, he understood that it was said to him: 'Thy name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was before the foundation of the world.' This he took to be the voice of the Lord, and believed it to be true. Then he felt himself powerfully moved to go abroad into the world, which was like a briery, thorny wilderness; and he found then that the world swelled against him, and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea: for when he came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongst the Priests, professors, magistrates, and people, they were all like a disturbed sea. Now he was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for he saw that, to as many as should receive him in his light, he would give power to become the sons of God; and that therefore he was to turn people to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart; and that by this grace they might be taught, and thereby obtain salvation; since Christ had died for all men, and was a propitiation for all, having enlightened all men with his divine saving light, and the manifestation of the Spirit of God being given to every man to profit withal. He now being sent thus to

preach the everlasting gospel, did it with gladness, and endeavoured to bring people off from their own ways, to Christ, the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, which Christ is the head of; and from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth and the life; and of whom the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;" and off from the world's worship, to the Spirit of God in the inward parts, that in it they might worship the Father, who seeks such to worship him.

Now he found also that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any man, high or low; and he was required to Thou and Thee every man and woman without distinction, and not to bid people Good Morrow, or Good Evening; neither might he bow, or scrape with his leg to any one. This was such an unusual thing with people, that it made many of all persuasions and professions rage against him; but by the assistance of the Lord, he was carried over all, and many came to be his fellow-believers, and turned to God in a little time; although it is almost unspeakable what rage and fury arose, what blows, pinchings, beatings, and imprisonments they *underwent*, besides the danger they *were sometimes in* of losing their lives for the

matters: so indiscreet is man in his natural state. For here it did not avail to say, that the hat-honour was an honour from below which the Lord would lay in the dust, and stain it; that it was an honour which the proud looked for, without seeking the honour which came from God alone; that it was an honour invented by men in the fall, who therefore were offended if it were not given them; though they would be looked upon as church members, and good Christians; whereas Christ himself said, "How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" That it was an honour, which in relation to the outward ceremony, viz. the putting of the hat, was the same which was given to God; so that in the outward sign of reverence, no distinction, or difference was made betwixt the Creator and the creature: nay, that the saying of you to a single person, went yet a degree further; for not only kings and princes formerly among the Heathens and Jews, had not been offended at it when they were Thee'd and Thou'd, but experience shewed that this still was the language wherewith God was spoken to, both in religious assemblies, and without. But all these reasons found little entrance with priests, magistrates, and others: bitter revilings, ill usage, and shameful abuses, were now become the lot and share of those

who for conscience-sake, could no longer follow the ordinary custom: for though it was pretended that the putting off of the hat was but a small thing, which none ought to scruple; yet it was a wonderful thing, to see what great disturbance this pretended small matter caused among people of all sorts; so that even such that would be looked upon as those that practised humility and meekness, soon shewed what spirit they were of, when this worldly honour was denied them. But all this served to strengthen the fellow-believers more and more in their plain carriage, and made them live up faithfully to the convincement of their conscience, without respect of persons.

In the meanwhile the troubles of the land continued. We left the King in the foregoing year in the Isle of Wight, in effect unkinged. Some time after the Duke of York, second son to the King, being then past fourteen years of age, fled to Holland, disguised in women's apparel; and his eldest brother the Prince of Wales, who two years before fled to France, came now to Helvoet-Sluice in Holland, and went from thence with some English men of war, whose Commanders were for the King, to the Downs in England, with intention to take the ships coming from London. He also published, by the spreading of a declaration, that he came *to release his father*. Now there was also

a negociation on foot between the King and the Parliament, and there seemed some hopes of an accommodation, had not the army, the chief instrument of breaking down the Royal Power, opposed it, by calling for justice against all those who had wronged the Country, none excepted. This broke off the treaty, several suspected members were turned out of the Parliament, and the King was carried to Windsor about the time called Christmas; and it was resolved henceforth to send no more deputations to him, nor receive any from him, who now was no more named King, but only Charles Stuart: a very strange turn of mundane affairs, and a mighty evidence of the fluctuating inconstancy thereof. But things made no stand here, for it was concluded to bring him to a trial; and the Parliament appointed General Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant General, with more than an hundred other persons, to be his judges. These being formed into a court of justice, the King was conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and from thence brought before them in Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned as guilty of high treason, for having levied war against the Parliament and people of England. But he not owning that court to be lawful, nor acknowledging their authority said, 'I am not entrusted by the people, they are mine by inheritance:' *and being unwilling* to answer to the charge, he

was on the 27th of the month, called January, sentenced to death, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy to the Commonwealth. But before this sentence was pronounced, the King desired that he might be permitted to make a proposition to both Houses of Parliament in the painted Chamber, designing, as was since said, to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son, the Prince of Wales, to the throne. But this request was denied by the Court. Now, though the said Prince of Wales, considering his father's danger, had applied himself to the States-General of the United Provinces at the Hague for assistance; and that these sent two Ambassadors to the Parliament, who coming to London on the same day the fatal sentence was pronounced, could not obtain admission till next day to the Speakers of both Houses, and were afterwards with Fairfax and Cromwell, and other commanders; and one of them had also his audience in the Parliament to intercede with them for the King's life; yet all proved in vain: for on the 30th of the aforesaid month, the King was brought on a scaffold erected before the banqueting house, and his head severed from his body. The same day the Parliament ordered a declaration to be published, whereby it was declared treason to endeavour to promote the Prince of Wales, Charles Stuart, *to be King of* England, or any other

single person to be the chief governor thereof. And then, after having abolished the House of Peers, they assumed to themselves the chief government of the nation, with the title of, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

The news of the King's death, was no sooner come into Scotland, but Charles, Prince of Wales, was proclaimed, at Edinburgh, King of Great Britain, provided he should, before assuming the royal authority, give satisfaction about some matters concerning religion. And though this displeased the English, yet the Scots asserted that they might as well do so, as the English, who had done the same at the death of the late King's father, in the year 1625.

Leaving state affairs, let us return to G. Fox, who in the year 1649, was much exercised to declare openly against all sorts of sins; and therefore he went not only to the courts, crying for justice, and exhorting the judges and justices to do justice, but he warned also those that kept public houses for entertainment, not to let people have more drink than what would do them good. He also testified against wakes, May-games, plays, and shews, by which people were led into vanity and drawn off from the fear of God; the days that were set forth for *holidays*, being usually the times wherein God

was most dishonoured. When he came into markets, he also declared against deceitful merchandizing, and warned all to deal justly, and to speak the truth; and he testified against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages: and when occasion offered, he warned schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach their children to mind the fear of the Lord; saying, that they themselves ought to be examples and patterns of virtue to them. But very burdensome it was to him, when he heard the bell ring to call people together to the steeple-house; for it seemed to him just like a market bell, to gather the people, that the priest might set forth his ware to sale.

Going once on a first-day of the week, in the morning, with some of his friends to Nottingham, to have a meeting there; and having seen from the top of a hill the great steeple-house of the town, he felt it required of him to cry against that idol temple, and the worshippers therein: yet he said nothing of this to those that were with him, but went on with them to the meeting, where after some stay, he left them, and went away to the steeple-house, where the priest took for his text these words of the Apostle, 2 Pet. i. 19. "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a *dark place*, until the day dawn, and the

day-star arise in your hearts." And he told the people that this was the Scripture, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. George Fox hearing this, felt such mighty power and godly zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, 'O no, it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star, and persecuted him and his apostles; though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the Scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost.' Thus speaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him into a nasty stinking prison. At night he was brought before the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the town; and they examining him, he told them, that the Lord had moved him to come there into the steeple-house: and though the mayor at first appeared peevish and fretful, yet he was allayed: however, after some discourse, G. Fox was sent back to prison. But some time after, the head sheriff John Reckless sent for him to his house, and when G. Fox came in, the sher-

iff's wife met him in the hall, and taking him by the hand, said, 'Salvation is come to our house:' for his speech in the steeple-house had so amazed many, that they could not get the sound of it out of their ears; and not only this woman was wrought upon, but also her husband, children, and servants were much changed by the power of the Lord.

George Fox thus coming to lodge at this sheriff's house, had great meetings there, and some persons of quality in the world came to them; and they were reached very eminently in their minds by an invisible power. Reckless being of this number, sent for the other sheriff, and for a woman they traded with; and he told her in the presence of the other sheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her, and that therefore they ought to make her restitution; to which Reckless exhorted the other sheriff, being himself made sensible, that this was an indispensable duty: for a mighty change was now wrought in him, and his understanding came to be opened; so that on the next market day, as he was walking with G. Fox in the chamber, in his slippers, he said, 'I must go into the market and preach repentance to the people:' and accordingly he went in his slippers into the market, and into several streets, preaching repentance. Some others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and

magistrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. But this the magistrates could not endure; and to vent their passion on G. Fox, they sent for him from the sheriff's house, and committed him to the common prison, where he was kept till the assizes came on, and then he was to have been brought before the judge, but that the sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching him, the judge was risen before G. Fox came to the session-house; however, the judge was a little displeased, having said, 'He would have admonished the youth (meaning G. Fox) if he had been brought before him.' So he was carried back again to prison. In the meanwhile such a wonderful power broke forth among his friends, that many were astonished at it, so that even several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord. Now though the people began to be very rude, yet the governor of the castle was so moderate, that he sent down soldiers to disperse them. G. Fox having been kept prisoner a pretty long time was at length set at liberty, and then travelled as before in the work of the Lord.

Coming to Mansfield-Woodhouse, he found there a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, being bound, and with her hair loose; and the doctor being about to let her blood, could get no blood from her; which made G. Fox *desire to unbind her;* and after this was done,

he spoke to her, and bade her in the name of the Lord, to be quiet and still. This proved of such effect, that she became still; and her mind coming to be settled, she mended, and afterwards received the doctrine of truth, and continued in it to her death.

Whilst G. Fox was in this place, he was moved to go to the steeple-house, and declare there the truth to the priest and the people; which doing, the people fell upon him, and struck him down, almost smothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruised with their hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they haled him out, though hardly able to stand, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours; and they brought horse-whips, threatening to whip him. After some time they had him before the magistrates, at a knight's house; who seeing how ill he had been used, set him at liberty, after much threatening, but the rude multitude stoned him out of the town; and though he was scarce able to go, yet with much ado he got about a mile from the town, where he met with some people that gave him something to comfort him, because he was inwardly bruised, But it pleased the Lord soon to heal him again; and some people were that day convinced of the truth, which had been declared in the steeple-house, at which he rejoiced.

Out of Nottinghamshire he went to Leices-

tershire, accompanied by several of his friends; and coming to Barrow, discoursed with some Baptists; and some of them saying, 'What was not of faith, was sin;' he asked, 'What faith was, and how it was wrought in man:' but they turning off from that, spoke of their water-baptism; which gave occasion to G. Fox, and his friends, to ask, 'Who baptised John the Baptist, and who baptised Peter, John, and the rest of the apostles. But they were silent at those questions.' After some other discourse, they parted. On the next first-day of the week, G. Fox, and those that were with him, came to Bagworth, and went to a steeple-house; and after the priest had done, they had some service there by speaking to the people.

Passing from thence, he heard of a people that were in prison in Coventry for religion; and as he was walking towards the gaol, the word of the Lord (as he relates) came to him, saying, 'My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' By this he was overcome with a sense of the love of God, and much strengthened in his inward man. But coming into the gaol, a great power of darkness struck at him; for instead of meeting such as were imprisoned for religion, he found them to be blasphemers, who were come to that degree, that they said, they were gods; and this their wicked opinion *they endeavoured* to maintain by scripture,

misapplying what was said to the Apostle Peter, when the sheet was let down to him, viz. 'What was sanctified, he should not call common or unclean:' and the words of the Apostle Paul, concerning 'God's reconciling all things to himself, things in heaven, and things on earth.' G. Fox was greatly grieved at this profaneness, told them that these scriptures were nothing to their purpose; and seeing they said, they were gods, he asked them, if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow: and they saying, They could not tell; he told them, God could tell. He asked them also, if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change: and they answering, That they could not tell; G. Fox told them, That God could tell it, and that he did not change. This confounded them, and brought them down for that time; so after having reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, he went away. Not long after this, one of these ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, gave forth a book of recantation, upon which they were set at liberty. From Coventry, G. Fox went to Atherston, where, going into the chapel, he declared to the priests and the people, That God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all their man-made teachers, to hear his Son. And though some few raged, yet they were generally *pretty quiet*, and some were convinced.

After this service, he went to Market-Bosworth, and coming into the public place of worship, he found Nathaniel Stevens preaching, who, has hath been said already, was priest to the town where G. Fox was born; here G. Fox taking occasion to speak, Stevens told the people, he was mad, and that they should not hear him; though he had said before to one Colonel Purfoy concerning him, That there was never such a plant bred in England. The people now being stirred up by this priest, fell upon G. Fox and his friends, and stoned them out of the town. Nevertheless this wrought on the minds of some others, so that they were made loving.

G. Fox now travelling on, came to Twy-Cross, were he spoke to the excisemen, and warned them to take heed of oppressing the poor. There being in that town a great man, that had long lain sick, and was given over by the physicians, he went to visit him in his chamber; and after having spoken some words to him, he was moved to pray by his bed-side; and the Lord was entreated, so that the sick man was restored to health. But G. Fox being come down, and speaking to some that were in a room there, a servant came with a naked rapier in his hand, and threatened to stab him; but he looking steadfastly on the man, said, 'Alack for thee, poor creature! What wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a straw.'

He being stopped thus, went away in a rage, and his master hearing of it, turned him out of his service, and was afterwards very loving to friends; and when G. Fox came to that town again, both he and his wife came to see him.

After this he went into Derbyshire, where his fellow-believers increased in godly strength; and coming to Chesterfield, he found one Britland to be priest there, who having been partly convinced of the doctrine of truth, had spoken much in behalf of it, and saw beyond the common sort of priests. But when the priest of that town died, he got the parsonage. G. Fox now speaking to him and the people, endeavoured to bring them off from man's teaching, unto God's teaching: and though the priest was not able to gainsay, yet they had him before the mayor, and threatened to send him to the house of correction: but when it was late in the night, the officers and the watchmen led him out of the town.

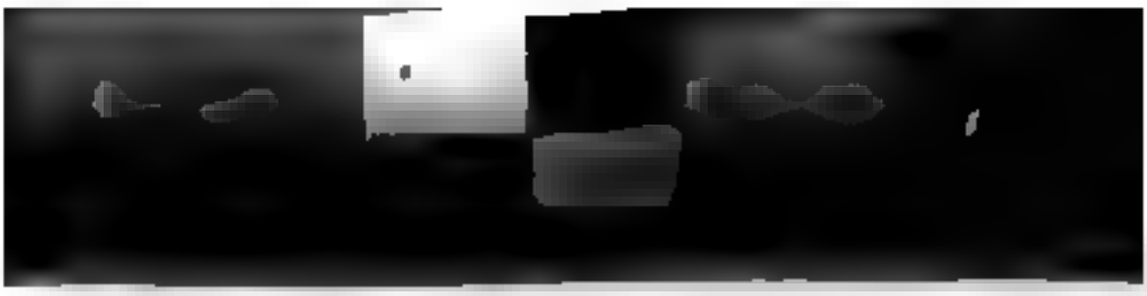
Concerning state affairs it hath been said already, that Charles II. had been proclaimed king by the Scots; but he being still in Holland, they sent to him there, that he would subscribe the Covenant, and so abrogate Episcopacy in Scotland: it was also desired that he would put some lords from him. But those that were sent, received only an answer from the young King, in *general* terms, which made them re-

turn home again, where we will leave them, to see in the meanwhile how it went with G. Fox, who had been sent away, as hath been said from Chesterfield, came to Derby in the year 1650, and lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced of the truth he preached. Now it happened, as he was walking there in his chamber, he heard the bell ring, and asked the woman of the house, what the bell rung for. She told him, there was to be a great lecture that day; so that many of the officers of the army, and priests and preachers were to be there, as also a colonel that was a preacher. Then he felt himself moved to go to that congregation; and when the service was done, he spoke to them what he believed the Lord required of him; and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, who took him by the hand, and said, that he, and the other two that were with him, must go before the magistrates. Coming then about the first hour in the afternoon before them, they asked him, why he came thither; to which having answered, That God had moved him to it; he farther said, That God did not dwell in temples made with hands; and that all their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices would never sanctify them, but they ought to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men; because it is Christ that sanctifies. *They then running* into many words, he told

them, that they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him. But this doctrine did so displease them, that they often put him in and out of the room, and sometimes told him scoffingly, That he was taken up in raptures. At last they asked him, Whether he was sanctified; and he answering yes; they then asked, If he had no sin; to which he said, 'Christ my Saviour has taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin.' Then he and his friends were asked, How they knew that Christ did abide in them; G. Fox said, 'By his Spirit, that he has given us.' Then they temptingly asked, If any of them was Christ; but he answered, 'Nay, we are nothing, Christ is all.' At length they also asked, If a man steal, is it no sin; to which he answered with the words of Scripture, 'All unrighteousness is sin.' So when they had wearied themselves in examining him, they committed him and another man, to the house of correction in Derby for six months, as blasphemers, as appears by the following mittimus.

To the Master of the House of Correction in Derby, Greeting.

We have sent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham; and John Fretwell, late of Stan-



iesby in the county of Derby, husbandmen, brought before us this present day and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions, contrary to a late act of Parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you, forthwith upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, or until they shall find security to be of good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30th, day of october, 1650.

GER. BENNET,
NATH. BARTON.

George Fox being thus, as hath been said, locked up, the priests bestirred themselves in their pulpits to preach up sin for term of life; and they endeavoured to persuade the people that it was an erroneous doctrine, to assert a possibility of being freed from sin in this life, as was held forth by the Quakers; for this began now to be the name whereby G. Fox's fellowbelievers were called, in a reviling way: and since that denomination hath continued to them from *that time downward*, we cannot therefore pass

by the first rise of it with silence. Until this time those who professed the light of Christ as shining in man's heart, and reproving for sin, were not improperly called Professors of the Light, or Children of the Light; but Gervas Bennet, one of the justices of the peace who signed the aforesaid mittimus, and an Independent, hearing that G. Fox bade him, and those about him, tremble at the word of the Lord! took hold of this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him, and his friends, scornfully, QUAKERS. This new and unusual denomination was taken up so eagerly, and spread so among the people, that not only the priests there from that time gave no other name to the Professors of the Light, but sounded it so gladly abroad, that it soon run over all England; and making no stand there, it quickly reached to the neighbouring countries, and adjacent kingdoms, insomuch, that the said Professors of the Light, for distinction's sake from other religious societies, have been called every where by that English name, which sounding very odd in the ears of some foreign nations, hath also given occasion to many silly stories.

Now because in those early times, among the many adherents of this persuasion, there were some that having been people of a rude and dis-

solute life, came so to be pricked to the heart, that they grew true penitents, with real sorrow for their former transgressions; it happened that they at meetings did not only burst out into tears, but also were affected with such a singular commotion of the mind, that some shakings of their bodies were perceived; some people naturally being more affected with the passions of the mind, than others; for even anger doth transport some men so violently, that it makes them tremble; whereas others will quake with fear; and what wonder then, if some being struck with the terrors of God did tremble? But this being seen by envious men, they took occasion from thence to tell, that these Professors of the Light performed their worship with shaking; yet they themselves never asserted that trembling of the body was an essential part of their religion, but have occasionally said the contrary; though they did not deny themselves to be such as trembled before God; and they also did not stick to say, that all people ought to do so; however thereby not enjoining a bodily shaking.

We have seen just now, how one Fretwel was committed with G. Fox to the house c correction; but he not standing faithful in h testimony, obtained by intercession of the je ler, leave of the justice to go and see his moth and so got his liberty; and then a report v

spread, that he had said, that G. Fox had bewitched and deceived him.

G. Fox was now become the object of many peoples hatred; magistrates, priests, and professors, were all in a rage against him; and the jailer, to find something wherewith to ensnare him, would sometimes ask him such silly questions, as, whether the door were latched or not; thinking thereby to draw some sudden unadvised answer from him whereby he might charge sin upon him: but he was kept so watchful and circumspect, that they could get no advantage of him. Not long after his commitment, he was moved to write both to the priests and magistrates of Derby.

Now since Ger. Croese in the beginning of his history represents G. Fox as one altogether unfit, not only to write legibly, but also to express his mind clearly in writing, and that therefore he always was obliged to employ others that could set down his meaning intelligibly, it will not be besides the purpose to say, that this is more than any will be able to prove. For though it cannot be denied, that he was no elegant writer, nor good speller, yet it is true, that his characters being tolerable, his writing was legible, and the matter he treated of was intelligible, though his style was not like that of a skilful linguist. And albeit he employed others, because himself was no quick writer, yet gene-

they were young lads, who as they durst have attempted to alter his words and phrase, so they would not have been skilful enough to refine his style. This I do not write from hearsay; but have seen it at sundry times. How true it is what the same author says, mostly all that G. Fox did write, was scarce thing besides a rough collection of several picture places, may be seen by the sequel of history, wherein will be found many of his following, which he writ to the priests from the house of correction, where he had not the convenience of a wri

[illegible] I write unto you to te[illegible] you had received the gospel free[illegible] minister it freely without money o[illegible] [illegible] priests have spoken: a[illegible] [illegible] you are the [illegible] [illegible] captives who are ev[illegible] [illegible] come to the kn[illegible] [illegible] Now is Jus[illegible] [illegible] Where is to you w[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

as theirs was. Moreover the Lord sent
tell you, that he doth look for fruits.
asked me, if the Scripture was my rule;
it is not your rule, to rule your lives by;
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in pleasures, pride, and wantonness, in ful-
s of bread and abundance of idleness: see
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alled Rabbi; and so do you.'

G. F.

That which he writ to the Magistrates, who committed him to prison, was to this effect:

'Friends,

'I AM forced, in tender love unto your souls, to write unto you, and to beseech you to consider what you do, and what the commands of God call for. He doth require justice and mercy, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free. But who calleth for justice, or loveth mercy, or contendeth for the truth? Is not judgment *turned backward*, and doth not justice *stand afar off*? Is not truth *stumbled* in the

rally they were young lads, who as they durst not have attempted to alter his words and phrases, so they would not have been skilful enough to refine his style. This I do not write from hearsay; but have seen it at sundry times. And how true it is what the same author says, that mostly all that G. Fox did write, was scarce any thing besides a rough collection of several Scripture places, may be seen by the sequel of this history, wherein will be found many of his writings. The first of his letters I meet with is the following, which he writ to the priests of Derby, from the house of correction, where certainly he had not the convenience of a writing clerk.

'O FRIENDS, I was sent unto you to tell you, that if you had received the gospel freely, you would minister it freely without money or price: but you make a trade and sale, of what the prophets and apostles have spoken; and so you corrupt the truth. And you are the men, that lead silly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth: you have a form of godliness but you deny the power. Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do you resist the truth; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you shall proceed no farther; for your folly shall be made manifest to

all men, as theirs was. Moreover the Lord sent me to tell you, that he doth look for fruits. You asked me, if the Scripture was my rule; but it is not your rule, to rule your lives by; but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleasures, pride, and wantonness, in fulness of bread and abundance of idleness: see if this be not the sin of Sodom. Lot received the angels: but Sodom was envious. You shew forth the vain nature: you stand in the steps of them that crucified my Saviour, and mocked him: you are their children; you shew forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the assemblies; and so have you: they loved to be called Rabbi; and so do you.'

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streets, or can equity enter? and do not they that depart from evil, make themselves a prey? Oh! consider what you do in time, and take heed whom you do imprison: for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Now, I intreat you in time take heed what you do; for surely the Lord will come, and will make manifest both the builders and the work; and if it be of man, it will fail; but if it be of God, nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I desire and pray, that you would take heed, and beware what you do, lest ye be found fighters against God.

G. F.'

George Fox, having thus cleared his conscience, continued waiting in patience, leaving the event to God. And after some time, he felt himself constrained to write to the justices that had committed him to prison, to lay their doings before them, that so they might come to a due consideration thereof: one of them (already mentioned) was justice Bennet, the other Nathaniel Barton, both a justice and a colonel, as also a preacher: to these he wrote as follows.

'Friends,

'YOU did speak of the good old way, *which the* prophet spake of; but the prophet

cried against the abominations which you hold up. Had you the power of God, ye would not persecute the good way. He that spake of the good way was set in the stocks: the people cried, Away with him to the stocks, for speaking the truth. Ah! foolish people, which have eyes aud see not, ears and hear not, without understanding! Fear ye not me, saith the Lord, and will ye not tremble at my presence! O your pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! you (that are preachers) have the chiefest place in the assemblies, and are called of men Master; and such were and are against my Saviour and Maker: and they shut up the kingdom of Heaven from men, neither go in themselves, nor suffer others. Therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation, who have their places, and walk in their steps. You may say, if you had been in the days of the prophets, or Christ, ye would not have persecuted them; wherefore be ye wit nesses against yourselves, that ye are the chil dren of them, seeing, ye now persecute the way of truth. O consider, there is a true Judge, that will give every one of you a reward according to your works. O mind where you are, you that hold up the abominations, which the true prophet cried against! O come down, and sit in the dust! The Lord is coming with pow-

er; and he will throw down every one that is exalted, that he alone may be exalted.

Having thus written to them jointly, he, after some time wrote to each of them apart. That to justice Bennet was thus.

'Friend,

'THOU that dost profess God and Christ in words, see how thou dost follow him. To take off burdens, and to visit them that be in prison, and shew mercy, and clothe thy own flesh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; these are God's commandments: to relieve the fatherless, and to visit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyself unspotted of the world; this is pure religion before God. But if thou dost profess Christ, and followest covetousness, and greediness, and earthly-mindness, thou deniest him in life, and deceivest thyself and others, and takest him for a cloak. Wo be to you greedy men, and rich men, weep and howl for your misery that shall come. Take heed of covetousness and extortion, God doth forbid that. Wo be to the man, that coveteth an evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high, and cover himself with thick clay. O do not love that which God forbids: his servant thou art whom thou dost obey, whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto right-

eousness. Think upon Lazarus and Dives: the one fared sumptuously every day; the other was a beggar. See, if thou be not Dives. Be not deceived; God is not mocked with vain words; evil communication corrupteth good manners. Awake to righteousness, and sin not.

G. F.'

And that to justice Barton was thus worded:

'Friend,

'Thou that preachest Christ, and the Scriptures in words, when any come to follow that, which thou hast spoken of, and to live the life of the Scriptures, then they, that speak the Scriptures, but do not lead their lives according thereunto, persecute them that do. Mind the prophets, and Jesus Christ, and his apostles, and all the holy men of God; what they spake, was from the life: but they that had not the life, but the words, persecuted and imprisoned them that lived in the life, which they had backslidden from.

G. F.'

Now, though the Mayor of Derby did not sign the mittimus, yet having had a hand with the rest in sending G. Fox to prison, he also writ to him after this manner:

'Friend,

'Thou art set in place to do justice; but in imprisoning my body, thou hast done contrary to justice, according to your own law. O take heed of pleasing men more than God, for that is the way of the Scribes and Pharisees: they sought the praise of men more than God. Remember who said, 'I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.' O friend, thy envy is not against me, but against the power of truth. I had no envy to you, but love. O take heed of oppression, for the day of the Lord is coming, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be as stubble; and the day that cometh, shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts: it shall leave them neither root nor branch. O friend, if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldst love the truth, and hear the truth spoken, and not imprison unjustly: the love of God beareth, and suffereth, and envieth no man. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would shew mercy; but you do shew forth what ruleth you. Every tree doth shew forth its fruit: you do shew forth your fruits openly. For drunkenness, swearing, pride, and vanity, rule among you, from the teacher to the people. O friend! mercy, and true judgment, and justice, are cried for in your streets. Oppression, unmercifulness, cru-

elty, hatred, pride, pleasures, wantonness, and fulness, is in your streets; but the poor is not regarded. O take heed of the wo: wo be to the crown of pride! wo be to them that drink wine in bowls, and the poor is ready to perish. O remember Lazarus and Dives: one fared deliciously every day; and the other was a beggar. O friend, mind these things, for they are near, and see whether thou be not the man, that is in Dives's state.'

To those of the Court at Derby, he also writ the following exhortation.

'I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppressing the poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon poor people, which they cannot bear: and of false oaths, or making them to take oaths, which they cannot perform. The Lord saith, I will come near to judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, against the false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those that do oppress widows and fatherless. Therefore take heed of all these things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous, and he delighteth in mercy: so love mercy, dear people, and consider in time.'

And because the ringing of bells for joy, is a thing generally tending to stir up vanity and immorality, he also writ a few lines to the

bell-ringers of the steeple-house, called St Peter's, in Derby.

'Friends,

'TAKE heed of pleasures, and prize your time now, while you have it; and do not spend it in pleasures, nor earthliness. The time may come, that you will say, you had time, when it is past: therefore look at the love of God now, while you have time; for it bringeth to loathe all vanities, and worldly pleasures. O consider! time is precious; fear God and rejoice in him, who hath made heaven and earth.'

Whilst G. Fox was in prison there, several of the professors came to discourse with him, and he perceiving that they came to plead for sin and imperfection, asked them, whether they were believers, and had faith: and they saying, yes, he farther asked them, In whom? to which they answering, In Christ; he replied, If ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life; and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death. And if your faith be true; it will give you victory over sin and the devil, and purify your hearts and consciences, (for the true faith is held in a pure conscience) it will bring you to please God, and, give you access to him again. But such language as this they could not endure; for they said, they could not believe that any could

be free from sin on this side the grave. To which he answered, That then they might give over their talking concerning the Scriptures, which were the words of holy men; whilst they themselves pleaded for unholiness. At another time, another company of such professors came, and they also pleading for sin, he asked them, Whether they had hope: To which they answered, yes, God forbid but we should have hope. Then he asked, What hope is it you have? Is Christ in you, the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as he is pure? But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here, and therefore he bade them forbear talking of the Scriptures, which were the holy men's words; for the holy men that writ the Scriptures (said he) pleaded for holiness in heart, life, and conversation here; but since you plead for impurity and sin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with the holy men's words?

Now the keeper of the prison, who was also an high professor, was much enraged against G. Fox, and spoke wickedly of him. But it pleased the Lord one day to strike him so, that he was under great anguish of mind: and G. Fox walking in his chamber, heard a doleful noise, and standing still to hearken, he heard him say to his wife: Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and was

afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers, and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and alehouses. After this, towards the evening, the keeper came up into his chamber, and said to him, I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb and like the jailer that came to Paul and Silas trembling. And he desired that he might lie with him; to which G. Fox answered, that he was in his power, he might do what he would. But said the other, Nay, I will have your leave; and I could desire to be always with you, but not to have you as a prisoner. G. Fox, unwilling to deny his desire, complied with it, and suffered him to lie with him. Then the keeper told him all his heart, and said, he believed what he had said of the true faith and hope, to be true: and he wondered that the other man that was put into prison with him, did not stand to it; for, said he, that man was not right, but you are an honest man. He also confessed, that at those times when G. Fox had asked him to let him go and speak the word of the Lord to the people, and at his refusal had laid the weight thereof upon him, that then he used to be under great trouble, amazed, and almost distracted for some time. The next morning the keeper went to the justices, and told them, that he and his house had been plagued

for G. Fox's sake. To which one of the justices, viz. Bennet, said, that the plagues were on them too, for keeping him. The justices now to be rid of him, gave leave that he should have liberty to walk a mile. But he perceiving their end, told the jailer, if they would set down to him how far a mile was, he might take the liberty of walking it sometimes: for he believed they thought he would go away; and the jailer also told him afterwards, that this was their intent. But he signified to him, that he had no mind to get his liberty that way. And so he remained prisoner, and was visited by the jailer's sister, who was so affected with what he spoke to her, that she coming down, told her brother, that they were an innocent people, that did no hurt to any, but good to all; and she desired that he might be treated civilly.

Now, since by reason of his restraint, he had not the opportunity of travelling about to declare the doctrine of truth, he, to discharge himself, wrote the following paper, and sent it forth for the opening of people's understandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themselves.

'The Lord doth shew unto man his thoughts, and discovereth all the secret workings in man. A man may be brought to see his evil thoughts, and running *mind*, and vain imaginations, and

may strive to keep them down, and to keep his mind in; but cannot overcome them, nor keep his mind within to the Lord. Now, in this state and condition, submit to the Spirit of the Lord, that shews them, and that will bring to wait upon the Lord; and he that hath discovered them, will destroy them. Therefore stand in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ (who is the author of the true faith) and mind him; for he will discover the root of lusts, and evil thoughts, and vain imaginations, and how they are begotten, conceived and bred; and then how they are brought forth, and how every evil member doth work. He will discover every principle from its own nature and root.

'So mind the faith of Christ, and the anointing which is in you, to be taught by it, which will discover all workings in you: and as he teacheth you, so obey and forsake; else you will not grow up in the faith, nor in the life of Christ, where the love of God is received. Now love begetteth love, its own nature and image: and when mercy and truth do meet, what joy there is! and mercy doth triumph in judgment; and love and mercy doth bear the judgment of the world in patience. That which cannot bear the world's judgment, is not the love of God; for love beareth all things, and is above the world's judgment; for the world's judgment is but foolishness. And

ough it be the world's judgment and practice, cast all the world's filthiness, that is among emselves, upon the saints; yet their judgment false. Now the chaste virgins follow Christ Lamb, that takes away the sins of the orld: but they that are of that spirit, which not chaste, will not follow Christ the Lamb his steps; but are disobedient to him in his mmands. So the fleshly mind doth mind the sh, and talketh fleshly, and its knowledge is shly, and not spiritual; but savours of death, d not of the spirit of life. Now some men ve the nature of swine, wallowing in the mire: d some men have the nature of dogs, to bite th the sheep and one another: and some men ve the nature of lions, to tear, devour, and stroy: and some men have the nature of olves, to tear and devour the lambs and sheep Christ; and some men have the nature of e serpent (that old adversary) to sting, enom, and poison. He that hath an ear to hear, him hear, and learn these things, within himf. And some men have the nature of other asts and creatures, minding nothing, but rthly and visible things, and feeding without e fear of God. Some men have the nature of horse, to prance and vapour in their strength, d to be swift in doing evil. And some men ve the nature of tall sturdy oaks, to flourish d spread in *wisdom* and strength, who are

strong in evil, which must perish, and come to the fire. Thus the evil is but one in all, but worketh many ways; and whatsoever a man's or woman's nature is addicted to, that is outward, the evil one will fit him with that, and will please his nature and appetite, to keep his mind in his inventions, and in the creatures, from the Creator. O therefore let not the mind go forth from God; for if it do, it will be stained, and venomed and corrupted: and if the mind go forth from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in again. Therefore take heed of the enemy, and keep in the faith of Christ. O! therefore mind that which is eternal and invisible, and him who is the Creator and Mover of all things: for the things that are made, are not made of things that do appear; for the visible covereth the invisible sight in you. But as the Lord, who is invisible, doth open you, by his invisible Power and Spirit, and brings down the carnal mind in you; so the invisible and immortal things are brought to light in you. O therefore you that know the light, walk in the light! for there are children of darkness, that will talk of the light, and of the truth, and not walk in it; but the children of the light love the light, and walk in the light. But the children of darkness walk in darkness, and hate the light; and in them the earthly lusts, and the carnal mind choke the seed of faith, and that bringeth oppression on

the seed, and death over them. O therefore mind the pure Spirit of the everlasting God, which will teach you to use the creatures in their right place; and which judgeth the evil. To thee, O God, be all glory and honour, who art Lord of all visibles and invisibles! to thee be all praise, who bringest out of the deep to thyself; O powerful God, who art worthy of all glory! for the Lord who created all, and gives life and strength to all, is over all, and merciful to all. So thou, who hast made all, and art over all, to thee be all glory; in thee is my strength, refreshments, and life, my joy and my gladness, my rejoicing and glorying for evermore! So to live and walk in the Spirit of God, is joy, and peace, and life; but the mind going forth into the creatures, or into any visible things from the Lord, this bringeth death. Now when the mind is got into the flesh, and into death, then the accuser gets within, and the law of sin and death, that gets into the flesh; and then the life suffers under the law of sin and death; and then there is straitness and failings. For then the good is shut up, and then the self-righteousness is set a-top; and then man doth work in the outward law, and he cannot justify himself by the law; but is condemned by the light: for he cannot get out of that state, but by abiding in the light, and resting in the mercy of God, and believing

in Him, from whom all mercy doth flow; for there is peace in resting in the Lord Jesus. This is the narrow way that leads to him, the life; but few will abide in it: therefore keep in the innocency, and be obedient to the faith in him. And take heed of conforming to the world, and of reasoning with flesh and blood, for that bringeth disobedience; and then imaginations and questionings do arise, to draw from obedience to the truth of Christ. But the obedience of faith destroyeth imaginations, and questionings, and reasonings, and all the temptations in the flesh, and buffetings, and lookings forth and fetching up things that are past. But not keeping in the life and light, and not crossing the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature grows up in man; and then burdens will come, and man will be stained with that nature. But Esau's mountain shall be laid waste, and become a wilderness, where the dragons lie: but Jacob, the second birth, shall be fruitful, and shall arise; for Esau is hated, and must not be lord; but Jacob, the second birth, which is perfect and plain, shall be lord: for he is beloved of God.

G. F.'

About the same time he writ to his friends the following paper:

'THE LORD is KING over all the earth! therefore all people, praise and glorify your King in the true obedience, in the uprightness, and in the beauty of holiness. O consider, in the true obedience the Lord is known, and an understanding from him is received. Mark and consider in silence, in the lowliness of mind, and thou wilt hear the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind: his voice is sweet and pleasant; his sheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another: and when they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient; they also sing for joy. Oh, their hearts are filled with everlasting triumph! they sing, and praise the eternal God in Sion: their joy shall never man take from them. Glory be to the Lord God for evermore!'

And since many, that had been convinced of the truth, turned aside, because of the persecution that arose, he writ for the encouragement of the faithful, these lines:

'COME ye blessed of the Lord, and rejoice together; keep in unity and oneness of spirit; triumph above the world; be joyful in the Lord; reigning above the world, and above all things that draw from the Lord; that in clearness, righteousness, pureness, and joy, you may be preserved to the Lord. O hear, O hearken

to the call of the Lord, and come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore! and come, sing together, ye righteous ones, the song of the Lord, the song of the Lamb; which none can learn, but they who are redeemed from the earth, and from the world.'

Now while G. Fox was at Derby in the house of correction, his relations came to see him, and being sorry for his imprisonment, they went to the justices, by whose order he was put there, and desired that he might be released, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others in Derby in fifty pounds a piece with them, that he should no more come thither to declare against the priests. But he being brought before the justices, would not consent that any should be bound for him, because he believed himself to be innocent from any ill behaviour. Then justice Bennet rose up in a rage, and as G. Fox was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, Bennet ran upon him, and struck him with both his hands, crying, Away with him, jailer; take him away jailer. Whereupon he was carried back again to prison, and there kept, until the time of his commitment for six months was expired. But now he had liberty of walking a mile; which he had made use of, in his own freedom; and sometimes he went into the market and streets, and

warned the people to repentance. And on the first-days he now and then visited the prisoners in their religious meetings. But the justices having required sureties for his good behaviour, it came upon him to write to them again, as followeth.

'Friends,

'SEE what it is in you that doth imprison; and see, who is head in you; and see, if something do not accuse you? consider, you must be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one fared sumptuously every day; the other a beggar: and now you have time, prize it, while you have it. Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour? I am bound to my good behaviour, and do cry for good behaviour of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleasures, and oppression, and from the deceits of this world: and there will come a time, that you shall know it. Therefore take heed of pleasures, and deceits, and pride: and look not at man, but at the Lord; for, look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved, saith the Lord.

Not long after he wrote to them again, thus.

'Friends,

'WOULD *you have* me to be bound to my

good behaviour from drunkenness, or swearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like? The Lord, hath redeemed me from all these things; and the love of God hath brought me to loathe all wantonness, blessed be his name. They who are drunkards, and fighters, and swearers, have their liberty without bonds: and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you, nor any other can justly accuse of these things, praised be the Lord! I can look at no man for my liberty but at the Lord alone; who hath all men's hearts in his hand.'

And after some time not finding his spirit clear of them, he writ again as followeth:—

'Friends,

'HAD you known who sent me to you, ye would have received me; for the Lord sent me to you, to warn you of the woes that are coming upon you; and to bid you, Look at the Lord, and not at man. But when I had told you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then your hearts were hardened, and you sent me to prison; where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God had broke your hearts, then would ye see what ye have done. Ye would not have imprisoned me, had not my Father suffered you; and by his power I shall be loosed; for he openeth and shutteth, to

him be all glory! In what have I misbehaved myself, that any should be bound for me? All men's words will do me no good, nor their bonds neither, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within, to keep me in the upright life to God. But I believe in the Lord, that through his strength and power, I shall be preserved from ungodliness, and worldly lusts. The Scripture saith, Receive strangers; but you imprison such. As you are in authority, take heed of oppression and oaths, and injustice and gifts, or rewards, for God doth loathe all such: but love mercy, and true judgment, and justice, for that the Lord delights in. I do not write with hatred to you, but to keep my conscience clear: take heed how you spend your time.

To the priests of Derby, he also writ again in this manner.

'Friends,

'YOU do profess to be the ministers of Jesus Christ in words, but you shew forth by your fruits, what your ministry is. Every tree doth shew forth its fruit: the ministry of Jesus Christ is in mercy and love, to unloose them that be bound, and to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are captivated, go free. Now friends where is your example (if the Scriptures be your rule) to imprison for religion? Have you

any command for it from Christ? If that were in you, which you do profess, you would walk in their steps, who spake forth those words, the Scriptures, which you do profess. But he is not a Jew, who is one outward, whose praise is of men; but he is a Jew, who is one inward, whose praise is of God. But if you do build upon the prophets and apostles in words, and pervert their life, remember the woes which Jesus Christ spake against such. They that spake the prophets words, but denied Christ, they professed a Christ to come; but had they known him, they would not have crucified him. The saints, whom the love of God did change, were brought thereby to walk in love and mercy; for he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God. But where envy, pride, and hatred doth rule, the nature of the world doth rule, and not the nature of Jesus Christ. I write with no hatred to you, but that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you pass on your time.'

Having thus cleared his conscience to the priests, it was not long before a concern came upon him to write again to the justices, which he did as followeth:

'I am moved to warn you to take heed of giving way to your own wills. Love the cross, and satisfy not your minds in the flesh; but

prize your time while you have it, and walk up to that you know, in obedience to God; and then you shall not be condemned for that you know not, but for that you do know, and do not obey. Consider betimes, and weigh yourselves, and see where you are, and whom you serve. For if you blaspheme God, and take his name in vain; if ye swear and lie; if ye give way to envy, hatred, covetousness, and greediness, pleasures, and wantonness, or any other vices, be assured then, that ye do serve the devil; but if ye fear the Lord and serve him, ye will loathe all these things. He that loveth God, will not blaspheme his name; but where there is opposing of God, and serving the devil, that profession is sad and miserable. O prize your time, and do not love that which God doth forbid; lying, wrath, malice, envy, hatred, greediness, covetousness, oppression, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, and all unrighteousness, God doth forbid. So consider, and be not deceived, evil communication corrupts good manners. Be not deceived, God will not be mocked with vain words; the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness. Therefore obey that which doth convince you of all evil, and telleth you, that you should do no evil. It will lead to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord! O look at the mercies of God, and

and servest the devil: consider with thyself, and do not love that which God doth hate. He that loveth God, keepeth his commandments. The devil will tell thee, it is a hard thing to keep God's commandments; but it is an easy thing to keep the devil's commandments, and to live in all unrighteousnes and ungodliness, turning the grace of God into wantonness. "But let the unrighteous man forsake his ways, and turn unto me," saith the Lord, "and I will have mercy. Turn ye, why will ye die?" saith the Lord.

'Howl ye great ones, for the plagues are pouring out upon you! Howl ye oppressors, for recompence and vengeance is coming upon you! Wo unto them that covetously join one house to another, and bring one field so nigh unto another, that the poor can get no more ground, and that ye may dwell upon the earth alone: these things are in the ears of the Lord of Hosts. Wo unto him that covetously getteth ill-gotten goods into his house, that he may set his nest on high, to escape from the power of evil.'

It has been said already, that some of G. Fox's friends were moved, as well as he, to preach the doctrine of truth; and in this year it also happened, that Elizabeth Hooton, of whom mention hath been made before, from a true experience of the Lord's work in man, also felt herself moved publicly to preach the way of

salvation to others, being the first woman-preacher, by what I am informed, among those that began now generally to be called by the name of Quakers. Yet I have found in a Dutch book, printed at Dordt, in the year 1647, and called, History of the troubles in England, concerning the various Sects risen there, that among other persuasions at London, there were also women that did preach in large meetings, and were heard by many with great satisfaction; so that the preaching of a woman was not such a novelty as otherwise it might have been.

In the foregoing year it hath been said, that some Scotch Commissioners having been with Charles II. in Holland, were returned to Scotland; and though the King at first seemed backward to consent to the Presbyterian Covenant, yet seeing no other way open to the Scottish throne, he came to other thoughts, and so went over to Scotland, and made his entry into Edinburgh, through the gate on which were placed the quarters of the Earl of Montrose, who having endeavoured not long before, to subdue the Scots, had been beaten with his forces, and, being taken prisoner, was executed. The young King being now come into Scotland, seemed willing to comply as much as he could, thereby to ingratiate himself, not only with the Scots, but also *with the* English, if possible.

and in order thereunto, he gave forth a decl
ration at his Court at Dumfermling, dated th
16th day of August, 1650, and in the secon
year of his reign, as it is there said, in whic
declaration, I meet with the following words :—

'Though his Majesty, as a dutiful son, b
obliged to honour the memory of his royal fa
ther, and have in estimation the person of h
mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply hum
bled and afflicted in spirit before God, be
cause of his father's hearkening to evil counsel
and his opposition to the work of Reformation
and to the Solemn League and Covenant, (b
which so much of the blood of the Lord's peo
ple hath been shed in these kingdoms,) an
for the idolatry of his mother.'

Here the King confessed openly, that h
father's house was guilty of great crimes, an
plainly signified, that the nation indeed ha
been wronged by his father's behaviour; an
he seemed to promise amendment, if he came t
be restored. In the meanwhile, they began t
see in England, that the Scots were like t
make head against them; and therefore the
ordered to send General Fairfax with an arm
thither; but he shewed himself unwilling t
go, chiefly, as it was believed, by the advice
his wife, who hearkened to the counsel of

Presbyterian preachers; and these thought it would contribute to their own settlement, if those of their own persuasion in Scotland were not resisted. But the Parliament, many of whose members were Independents, did not matter that; but resolved, since Fairfax resigned voluntarily, to create Oliver Cromwell general of the national forces, in the room of Fairfax. Which being done, Cromwell was sent with an army to Scotland, and beat the Scots not far from Edinburgh, whereby that city not long after yielded to him.

In this year was born in Holland, on the 14th of the month called November, N. S. William the Third, Prince of Orange, whose mother was daughter of the late King Charles the first. And this Prince, by a strange revolution of human affairs, has since been advanced to the English throne; and is at present, whilst I write this, King of Great Britain, &c.

[redacted]

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE year 1651 had scarce begun, when the Scots resolved, notwithstanding their overthrow, to crown their new King, which, after he had sworn to maintain the covenant, they did in the beginning of the month called January. But leaving this

We return again to George Fox, whom we left at Derby, in the house of correction; where, about this time a trooper came to him, who said, that having been in the steeple-house, hearing the priest, exceeding great trouble came upon him, and that a voice (which he took to be that of the Lord) said to him, 'Dost thou not know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for direction.' G. Fox speaking to his condition, told him, 'That which shewed him his sins, and troubled him for them, would also shew *him his salvation*; because He that shew

a man his sin, is the same that takes it awa
Whilst he was thus speaking, the trooper's u
derstanding began to be opened concerning t
truth, and he was sensible of God's merci
which made him speak boldly in his quarte
among the soldiers, and others, alleging t
Scriptures for what he now believed to be tru
He also said, his colonel (which I take to be Ba
ton) was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to ca
the servant of the Lord into prison. This so i
censed his colonel, that, when at Worcest
fight, the two armies lying near one anothe
two from the King's army challenged any tw
of the Parliament's army to fight with the
the said colonel made choice of him and anoth
to answer the challenge: and when in the e
counter his companion was slain, he drove bo
his enemies within a musket-shot of the tow
without firing a pistol at them. Thus he r
turned victorious; but then he saw the deceit
the officers, and how wonderfully the Lord h
preserved him; and in process of time becomi
sensible that fighting was unlawful for a tru
Christian, he laid down his arms, henceforth
fight under the banner of the Prince of Peac
by entering into the spiritual warfare.

Now the time of G. Fox's commitment to th
house of correction, being very near out, a
there being many new soldiers raised, the com
missioners would have made him captain ov

them, and the soldiers cried, 'They would have none but him.' So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring him up before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place; and there they proffered him that preferment, (as they called it) asking him if he would not take up arms for the Commonwealth, against Charles Stuart. G. Fox, never having been a fighter, though it has appeared he was bold and valiant, told them, 'That he could not do so, as well knowing from whence all wars did arise, (viz. from the lusts, according to the doctrine of the apostle James) and that he lived in the virtue of that life and power, that took away the occasion of all wars.' The commissioners, to fawn upon him, said, 'They offered him the office in love and kindness, because of his virtue.' But he not mattering those flattering words, replied, 'If this be your love and kindness, I trample it under my feet.' This bold answer presently shewed how shallow their pretended kindness was; for it so enraged them, that they said, 'Take him away jailer, and put him into the dungeon amongst the rogues and felons.' Thus G. Fox was put into a lousy stinking place amongst thirty felons, where he had no bed, and was kept almost half a year, unless that at times he was suffered to walk in the garden, for they believed *of him* that he would not run away.

Being in this nasty prison, it was said among the people, that he never should come out: but he, trusting in God, believed the contrary, it being shewed him from the Lord (according to what he relates) that he was not yet to be removed from that place, there being a service for him to do.

In the meanwhile it was noised abroad, that he was in Derby dungeon, and his relations came again to see him, they being much troubled about it; for they thought it a great shame to them, that he should lie thus in jail: besides, it was a strange thing then to be imprisoned for religion. But some judged him to be mad, because he maintained the doctrine of purity, righteousness, and perfection. Among others that came to see him, there was also a soldier from Nottingham, who said to him, 'Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem; and there never was any such thing.' This so grieved G. Fox, that he said to him, 'How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem, by the professing Jews, the chief priests, and Pilate? 'No,' said the other, 'he did not suffer there outwardly.' Then G. Fox asked him, 'Whether there were not Jews, chief priests, and Pilate outwardly? This puzzled the soldier a little, so that he could not deny it. Then he told him: 'As certainly as *there was a chief* priest, and Jews, and Pilate,

so certainly Christ did suffer there outwardly under them.' Yet this inconsiderate person, said also, 'That never any of the prophets, or apostles, or holy men of God, suffered any thing outwardly; but that all their sufferings were inward.' Then G. Fox instanced to him many of the prophets and apostles, how they suffered, and by whom they suffered, thereby to confound his silly imaginations. Yet such was the malice of some, that a slander was raised among the people, that the Quakers denied Christ that suffered and died at Jerusalem. This, indeed, is a singular evidence of the credulity of people, taking upon trust any story, how false soever, when it relates to those that are become the object of vulgar odium. Now, as G. Fox was often visited by those that came out of curiosity, it is not to be wondered, that sometimes he was contradicted by presumptuous and self-conceited persons. Once there came to him some that pretended they were triers of spirits; and these he asked, 'What was the first step to peace: and what it was by which a man might see his salvation.' But they being of an airy mind, took this to be such a strange question, that they did not stick to say he was mad. Thus it appeared, that these who pretended to try spirits, did not know what spirit they themselves were of, and that they *had not* sufficient knowledge to make

a good judgment of the corporal constitution, saying he was mad, who was in no wise out of his senses.

In the time of his imprisonment he was much exercised in mind about the proceedings of the magistrates, because men were put to death for stealing of cattle, money, &c. and he was the more troubled about it, because this practice was contrary to the law of God in old time. Wherefore he writ the following two letters to the judges.

'I AM moved to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle, or money, &c. for the thieves in the old time were to make restitution; and if they had not wherewithal, they were to be sold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the Scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth: and let them be your rule in executing judgment: and shew mercy, that you may receive mercy from God, the judge of all. And take heed of gifts and rewards, and of pride; for God doth forbid them, and they do blind the eyes of the wise. I do not write to give liberty to sin; God hath forbidden it: but that you should judge according to his laws, and shew mercy: for he delighteth in true judgment, and in mercy. I beseech you to mind these things, and

prize your time, now you have it; and fear God, and serve him; for he is a consuming fire.'

The other letter was thus.

'I am moved to write unto you, that ye do true justice to every man, and see that none be oppressed, nor wronged; nor no oaths imposed; for the land mourneth because of oaths, and adulteries, and sorceries, and drunkenness, and profaneness. O consider, ye that be men set in authority: be moderate, and in lowliness consider these things. Shew mercy to the fatherless, and to the widows, and to the poor: and take heed of rewards or gifts, for they do blind the eyes of the wise: the Lord doth loathe all such. Love mercy and true judgment, justice, and righteousness, for the Lord delighteth in such. Consider these things in time, and take heed how ye do spend your time: now ye have time, prize it, and shew mercy, that ye may receive mercy from the Lord: for he is coming to try all things, and will plead with all flesh, as by fire.'

Whilst G. Fox was in prison among the felons, it grieved him to hear their foul language; and he often reproved them for their wicked words, and evil carriage towards each other: and *people did admire* that he was so preserved.

among this bad company, without being defil
by their conversation: but the fear of God
prevailed in his heart, that he could not
charged with any evil word or action all t
time he was there: yet he perceived that it w
dangerous to converse with such a naughty cre
and therefore he laid before the judges what
hurtful thing it was, that prisoners should
long in jail, because they learned wickedne
one of another, in talking of their bad deed
and that therefore speedy justice ought to
done.

Now whilst he was confined here, there w
a young woman in the jail for robbing her ma
ter of some money; and she being to be tri
for her life, he wrote concerning her to the jud
and jury, shewing them, how contrary it was
the law of God of old, to put people to dea
for stealing; and that it was an incumbent du
to shew mercy. But notwithstanding his wri
ing so, she was condemned to die, and a gra
was made for her. G. Fox having heard th
writ a few words, containing, 'A warning f
all people to beware of covetousness, and
fear the Lord, and prize their time, while th
have it; that so they might avoid wickedness
and when the woman, at the time appointe
was carried forth to execution, he gave th
writing to be read at the gallows; but wh
she was upon the ladder, with a cloth over h

face, and ready to be turned off, she was reprieved, and was brought back again to prison, where afterwards she came to be convinced of the truth, as held forth by G. Fox and his friends.

In the jail there was also detained a wicked man, who was said to be a conjurer; this man threatened G. Fox, and also the jailer, That he would raise the devil, and break the house down; so that he made the jailer afraid. But G. Fox went to him, and said, 'Come, let us see what thou canst do, and do thy worst: the devil is raised high enough in thee already; but the power of God chains him down.' At this undaunted speech the fellow slunk away.

Now the justices to get rid of G. Fox, resolved to press him for a soldier, seeing he would not voluntarily accept of a command; and Bennet sent constables to give him press money: but he told them, 'That he was brought off from outward war, and was dead to it.' And though the commissioners over and again proffered him money, yet he would not take it; at which they grew so angry, that he was committed close prisoner. Hereupon G. Fox wrote to the justices, and those that were concerned in his commitment, the following lines.

'YOU, who are without Christ, and yet use the *words which* he and his saints have spoken,

consider, neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any; but my Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He doth bring out of prison and bondage: but men, while the carnal mind doth rule, do oppress and imprison. My Saviour saith, "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you;" for the love of God doth not persecute any; but loveth all, where it dwelleth: "he that hateth his brother," is a murderer. You profess to be Christians, and one of you a minister of Jesus Christ, yet you have imprisoned me, who am a servant of Jesus Christ. The apostles never imprisoned any; but were imprisoned themselves: take heed of speaking of Christ in words, and denying him in life and power. O friends, the imprisoning my body is to satisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, ye would not have imprisoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow creatures: and that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you stand, is this written.'

About this time he gave forth a paper to those that were convinced of the truth, to shew them the deceit of the world, and how the priests had deceived the people, viz.

'CHRIST was ever hated; and the righteous, for his sake. Mind, who they were, that did ever hate them. He that was born after the flesh, did persecute him that was born after the spirit; and so it is now. And mind, who were the chiefest against Christ; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers and teachers, that did profess the law and the prophets, and looked for Christ; they looked for an outwardly-glorious Christ, to hold up their outward glory: but Christ spake against the works of the world; and against the priests, and Scribes, and Pharisees, and their hypocritical profession. He that is a stranger to Christ, is an hireling: but the servants of Jesus Christ are freemen. The false teachers always laid burdens upon the people: and the true servants of the Lord did speak against them. Jeremiah did speak against hirelings, and said, it was an horrible thing;" and said, "What will ye do in the end?" for the people and priests were given to covetousness. Paul did speak against such as did make gain upon the people; and exhorted the saints to turn away from such as were covetous men, and proud men, such as did love pleasures more than God; such as had a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof. "For of this sort (said he) are they that creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, who are ever learning, but never able to come to the

knowledge of the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith; and as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so (saith he) do these resist the truth; but they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be made manifest unto all men." Moses forsook honours and pleasures, which he might have enjoyed. The apostle in his time saw this corruption entering, which now is spread over the world, of having a form of godliness, but denying the power. Ask any of your teachers, whether you may ever overcome your corruptions and sins. None of them doth believe that; but as long as man is here, he must (they say) carry about with him the body of sin. Thus pride is kept up, and that honour and mastership, which Christ denied; and all unrighteousness; yet multitudes of teachers; heaps of teachers; the golden cup full of abominations! Paul did not preach for wages; but laboured with his hands, that he might be an example to all them that follow him. O people, see who follow Paul! The prophet Jeremiah said, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;" but now the "priests bear rule by the means they get from the people:" take away their means, and they will bear rule over you no longer. They are such, as the apostle said, intruded into those things, which *they never saw, being* vainly puffed up with a

fleshly mind; and, as the Scriptures declare of some of old, "They go in the way of Cain (who was a murderer) and in the way of Balaam, who coveted the wages of unrighteousness." The prophet Micah also cried against the judges, that judged for reward; and the priests, that taught for hire; and the prophets, that prophesied for money; and yet leaned on the Lord, saying, "Is not the Lord amongst us?" Gifts do blind the eyes of the wise: and the gift of God was never purchased with money. All the holy servants of God did ever cry against deceit: and where the Lord hath manifested his love, they do loathe it, and that nature which holdeth it up.'

He also wrote a serious exhortation to the magistrates of Derby, to consider whom they imprisoned.

'Friends,

'I DESIRE you to consider in time, whom ye do imprison; for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But when the Lord doth send his messengers unto you, to warn you of the woes, that will come upon you, except you repent; then you persecute them, and put into prison, and say, 'We have a law, and by our law we *may* do it.' For you indeed justify

yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; he will not be worshipped with your forms and professions, and shews of religion. Therefore consider, ye that talk of God, how ye are subject to him; for they are his children, that do his will. What doth the Lord require of you, but to do justice, to love and shew mercy, to walk humbly with him, and to help the widows and fatherless to their right? but instead thereof ye oppress the poor. Do not your judges judge for reward, and your priests teach for hire? The time is coming, that he who seeth all things, will discover all your secrets. And know this assuredly, the Lord will deliver his servants out of your hands, and he will recompence all your unjust dealings towards his people. I desire you to consider of these things, and search the Scriptures, and see, whether any of the people of God did ever imprison any for religion; but were themselves imprisoned. I desire you consider, how it is written, that when the church is met together, they may all prophesy, one by one: that all may hear, and all may learn, and all may be comforted: and then, "If any thing be revealed to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." Thus it was in the true church; and thus it ought to be. But it is not so in your assemblies; but he that teaches for hire may speak, *and none may contradict him.* Again, consid-

er the liberty that was given to the apostles, even among the unbelieving Jews; when after the reading the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue said unto them, "Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on" I desire you to consider in stillness, and strive not against the Lord; for he is stronger than you. Though he hold his people fast for a time; yet when he cometh he will make known who are his: for his coming is like the refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap. Then the stone that is set at nought of you builders, shall be the head-stone of the corner. O friends, lay these things to heart, and let them not seem light things to you. I wrote unto you in love, to mind the laws of God, and your own souls, and do as the holy men of God did.'

During his imprisonment there, he was under a great exercise and travail in spirit, because of the wickedness of that town; for though some were convinced there of the doctrine of truth, yet generally they were a hardened people: and he seeing the visitation of God's love pass away from them, he mourned, and wrote the following lamentation.

'O DERBY! as the waters run away, when the flood gates are up; so doth the visitation

of God's love pass away from thee, O Derby! therefore look, where thou art, and how thou art grounded; and consider, before thou art utterly forsaken. The Lord moved me twice, before I came to cry against the deceits and vanities that are in thee; and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The wo is against the crown of pride, and the wo is against drunkenness and vain pleasures, and against them that make a profession of religion in words, and are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppression and envy. O Derby! thy profession and preaching, stinks before the Lord. Ye do profess a sabbath in words, and meet together, dressing yourselves in fine apparel; and you uphold pride. Thy women go with stretched forth necks, and wanton eyes, &c. which the true prophet of old cried against. Your assemblies are odious, and an abomination to the Lord: pride is set up, and bowed down to; covetousness abounds: and he that doth wickedly is honoured: so deceit doth bear with deceit; and yet they profess Christ in words. O the deceit, that is within thee! it doth even break my heart to see how God is dishonoured in thee, O Derby!'

After he had written this, he perceived that his imprisonment there would not continue long; for the magistrates grew uneasy about

him, and could not agree what to do with him: one while they would have sent him up to the Parliament, and another while they would have banished him to Ireland. At first they called him a deceiver, and a blasphemer; and afterwards, when the judgments of God befel them, they said he was an honest, virtuous man. But their well or ill speaking was nothing to him; for the one did not lift him up, nor did the other cast him down. At length they turned him out of jail, about the beginning of the winter, in the year 1651, after he had been prisoner in Derby about a year: six months whereof in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common jail and dungeon.

Being set at liberty, he went into Leicestershire, and had meetings where he came, preaching so effectually, that several were convinced. He went after to Nottinghamshire again, and from thence into Derbyshire, where, having visited his friends, he passed into Yorkshire, and coming into Doncaster, and other places, he preached repentance. Afterwards he came to Balby, where Richard Farnsworth and several others were convinced by his preaching. And coming afterwards into the parts about Wakefield, James Naylor came to him, and also acknowledged the truth of that doctrine he *held forth; likewise* William Dewsbury,

with many more; and these three named, became in time also ministers of the gospel. But by the way, I must say that William Dewsbury was one of those that had already been immediately convinced, as G. Fox himself was, who coming to him, found himself in unity with him; and of these was also G. Fox the younger, of whom more hereafter.

But I return to the other G. Fox, who coming about Selby, passed from thence to Beverly, where he went into the steeple-house, and after he that preached there had done, George Fox spoke to the congregation, and said, that 'they ought to turn to Christ Jesus as their teacher.' This struck a dread amongst the people, and the mayor spoke to him; but none meddled with him. In the afternoon he went to another steeple-house, about two miles off, where, after the priest had done, he spoke to him and the people, shewing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest saying he could not dispute, G. Fox told him, 'He did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the word of truth, that they might all know the one seed, to which the promise was, both in the male, and in the female.' Here his speaking did so please the auditory, that he was desired to come again on another day, and to preach there. But he

directed them to their teacher Christ Jesu and so went away.

The next day he came to Crantsick, to Captain Pursloe's, who accompanied him to Justice Hotham's, and entering into discourse with G. Fox, told him, 'He had known that principle above ten years, and was glad that the Lord did publish it abroad among the people.' While G. Fox was there, a great woman of Beverly came to speak with the said justice about some business, who in discourse said, 'That the last sabbath-day (as she called it) there was an angel or spirit came into the church at Beverly, and spoke the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there: and that when it had done, it passed away, they not knowing whence it came, nor whither it went; but it astonished all, both priest and professors, and the magistrates of the town. This relation justice Hotham gave himself afterwards; and then G. Fox told him, hat it was he who had been that day at Beverly eeple-house, and had declared truth there. he next first day of the week, captain Pursloe me to G. Fox, and they both went to the eple-house, where G. Fox, when the priest l done, spoke to both priest and people, and cted them where they might find their er, the Lord Jesus Christ, viz. inwardly, r hearts; which was of such effect, that

ome received that doctrine of truth, and con-
inued in it. In the afternoon he went to ano-
ther steeple-house, about three miles off, where
one preached that bore the title of doctor: he
took his text from Isaiah lv. "Every one that
thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that
hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea
come, buy wine and milk, without money, and
without price." G. Fox stayed till the priest
had done, and well knowing what kind of
teacher he was, he was kindled with such a
zeal, that he said, Come down thou deceiver:
dost thou bid people come freely, and to take
of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest
three hundred pounds a year of them! Mayest
not thou blush with shame! Did the prophet
Isaiah and Christ do so, who spake the words, and
gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to
his ministers, whom he sent to preach, freely
ye have received, freely give? The priest being
amazed, hastened away, and so gave G. Fox as
much time as he could desire, to speak to the
people; who then directed them to the light,
and the grace of God, and to the Spirit of God
in their inward parts, to be taught and instruc
ted thereby. Having thus cleared himse
among the people, he returned to justice H
tham's house that night, who embracing hi
said: 'My house is your house;' and a
signified, 'that he was exceeding glad

the work of the Lord, and that his power was revealed.'

From thence G. Fox went through the country, and came at night to an inn, where he bid the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring him some. But because he said thee and thou to her, she looked strangely on him. Then he asked her if she had any milk; and she said, no. He believing she spoke falsely and seeing a churn stand in the room, would try her farther, and asked her, if she had any cream; but she denied that she had any. Then a little boy playing about the churn, put his hands into it, and pulling it down, threw all the cream on the floor. Thus the woman appeared to be a liar, and she being amazed, took up the child and whipt it sorely: but he reproved her for her lying, and going out of the house, went away, and that night lay in a stack of hay, in rain and snow. The next day he came to York, and the first day of the week being come, he went to Cathedral: when the priest had done, he said, 'He had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. 'Then (said a professor) say on quickly;' for it was very cold weather. G. Fox then told them, 'This was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words; But God Almighty looked for fruits among them.' As soon as these words were

out of his mouth, he was hurried out, and thrown down the steps. But he got up again without hurt, and went to his lodging. Yet several of the people were so reached, that they became convinced of the truth.

He having now done his service in York, went from thence, and came the next day to Burraby, and going into a certain meeting, where there was a priest also, he had occasion to declare the truth, and many were convinced; and the priest himself confessed to the truth, though he came not to live up to it. The following day G. Fox passed to Cleave-land, where having a meeting, some were convinced. The first day of the next week he went to the steeple-house, and when the priest had done, he directed the people to their teacher within, Christ Jesus, who had bought them. The priest then coming to him, he had a little discourse with him, and put him soon to silence.

From thence he went to Stath, where he had great meetings, and many received the truth he preached, among whom was Philip Scarth, a priest, that afterwards came to be a minister of the gospel among those called Quakers, who now began thereabout to increase in number, and had great meetings. It happened here, that a certain Scotch priest, walking with G. Fox, asked him many questions concerning the light, and the soul: to all which he answered fully.

But after they parted, this Scotch priest met Philip Scarth, and breaking his cane against the ground, said in anger, 'If ever he met with G. Fox again, he would have his life, or Fox should have his;' adding, 'That he would give his head, if G. Fox was not knocked down within a month.' Yet what is marvellous, this same Scotch priest, after some years, came to be one of the people called Quakers, and afterwards G. Fox visited him at his house. Not much unlike to this, was, that a woman of note, among the Independents, being swayed by prejudice against G. Fox, said, She would willingly have gone to have seen him hanged; but when she heard him preach, was so reached, that, being convinced of the truth he declared, she came to be one of his friends. Oftentimes he had opportunity to speak with the priests, who, when they heard of his coming, would hide themselves; for it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them, The man in leather breeches is come; for this was indeed his dress in those days not out of any superstition, but because leather clothes being strong, it was not unsuitable for one that travelled so much as he did.

Coming to Malton he had great meetings; but it was thought such a strange thing to preach in houses, that many durst not come there, for fear of their relations; and therefore he was

sired to come and preach in the church-
e steeple-houses are commonly called:
e of the priests himself, called Boyes
as so taken with him, that he called him
) did invite him to preach in his steeple-
but G. Fox had little inclination to that,
e both priests and people, called that
of worship, 'The house of God;' whereas
postle said to the Athenians, "God dwel-
not in temples made with hands." And there-
he endeavoured to draw people off from them
to make them sensible, that God and Christ
nt to dwell in their hearts, that so their bo-
, might be made the temples of God. Yet for
t time he went into the steeple-house at Mal-
, where there were not above eleven hearers,
whom the priest was preaching; but after it
as known in the town that G. Fox was there,
was soon filled with people. And when the
riest had done, he sent the other that had invi-
ed him thither, to bring him up into the pulpit.
But G. Fox sent him word, 'that he needed
not go into the pulpit.' The priest not satisfied
with this refusal, sent again, desiring him to go
up into it. For, said he, 'It is a better place to
be seen of the people.' But G. Fox answered,
'That he could be seen and heard well enough
where he was; and that he came not there to
hold up such places, nor their maintenance and
trade.' This created some displeasure, and it

was said, that false prophets were to come in the last times. But this saying grieved many of the people, and some began to murmur at it: whereupon G. Fox stood up, and desiring all to be quiet, he stept upon an high seat; and since somewhat had been spoken of false prophets, he declared to the auditory, the mark of those prophets; and he shewed, that they were already come, and were out of the steps of the true prophets, and of Christ and his apostles. He also directed the people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus, who would turn them from darkness to light. And having opened divers Scriptures to them, he directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might come to God, and also to know who the false prophets were. And having thus had a large time to preach to the people, he went away without any disturbance.

Afer some time, he came to Pickering, where the justices held their sessions in the steeple-house, justice Robinson being chairman. At the same time G. Fox had a meeting in the school-house, where many priests and professors came, and asked several questions, which were answered to their satisfaction: so that many persons, and amongst these four chief constables were convinced that day; and word was carried to justice Robinson, that his priest, whom *he loved more* than all the others, was

overthrown and convinced. After the meeting was done, they went to an inn, and the said priest was very loving, and would have paid for G. Fox's dinner; but this he would not suffer by any means. Then he offered that he should have his steeple-house to preach in; but he refused, and told him and the people, That he came to bring them off from such things to Christ. The next morning he went with the four chief constables to visit justice Robinson, who meeting him at his chamber door, G. Fox told him, 'He could not honour him with man's honour:' to which the justice said, 'He did not look for it.' Then he went into his chamber, and spoke to him concerning the state of the false prophets, and of the true; and also concerning election and reprobation, shewing that reprobation stood in the first birth, and election in the second; and what it was that the promise of God was to, and what the judgment of God was against. All this so pleased the said Robinson, that he not only confessed it to be truth, but when another justice that was present made some little opposition, he informed him; and at their parting, he said to G. Fox, it was very well that he did exercise that gift which God had given him. And he took the chief constables aside, and would have given them some money for G. Fox, saying, 'He *would not have him to* be at any charge in their

country.' But they told him, 'That they themselves could not get him to take any money.' G. Fox passing from thence, priest Boyes went along with him: but the year being now come to an end, let us take a short view how it stood with state affairs.

It hath been said already, that Charles the second had been crowned king by the Scots, but having been beaten, with his forces, by Cromwell, he marched afterwards with a new army into England, and took Worcester without opposition: yet, in the month of September, his forces were so entirely routed by Cromwell, that King Charles, to prevent being taken prisoner after the battle, hid himself a whole day in a hollow oak, and afterwards, being clothed like a servant, and called by the name of William, passed the country, and through many hazards escaped out of England, and arrived on the coast of Normandy in France: where we will leave him, to return again to

G. Fox, who coming with priest Boyes into town to bait, and hearing the bells ring, asked what that was for. They told him, that it was him to preach in the steeple-house. Walk-thither, he saw the people were gathered ther in the steeple-house-yard. The priest accompanied him, would have had him to nto the steeple-house: but he said, 'It no *matter*.' This seemed strange to the

people. that he would not go into that which they called the house of God. But he stood up in the steeple-house-yard, and declared to them, 'That he came not to hold up their idol temples, nor their priests, nor their tithes, nor their Jewish and heathenish ceremonies; that the ground on which their temples stood, was no more holy than any other piece of ground; that the apostles going into the Jews synagogues, and temples, was to bring people off from that temple, &c. and from the offerings and tithes, and covetous priests of that time; that such who came to be converted, and believed in Christ, afterwards met together in dwelling-houses; and that all who preach Christ, the word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as Christ had commanded; and that the Lord God of heaven and earth had sent him to preach freely, and to bring people off from the outward temples made with hands, in which God dwelleth not; that so they might know their bodies were to become the temples of God and Christ. Moreover, that they ought to leave all their superstitious ceremonies, traditions, and doctrines of men; and not regard such teachers of the world, that took tithes, and great wages, preaching for hire, and *divining for money*; whom God and Christ *never sent*, according to their own confessio *when they say*, they never heard God's ve

That therefore people ought to come to the Spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the light of Jesus in their own hearts; that so they might come to know Christ their free teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the Scriptures to them.' This speech had such effect, that many of them declared they were convinced of the truth.

From this place he went to another town, and priest Boyes went along with him. Thither came several professors, but he sat silent for some hours; which made them often ask the priest, When will he begin? When will he speak? To which the priest said, 'Wait:' and told them that the people waited upon Christ a long while before he spake: now, though G. Fox by silence was to famish people from words, yet at length he felt himself moved to speak, which he did so effectually, that many were reached, and there was a general convincement amongst them.

From hence he passed on, the priest continuing to go with him, as did several others; and as they went along, some people called to the priest, and said, 'Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it.' But he throwing up his hands, said, 'He had enough, and would have none of it; they might keep it; and he praised the Lord he had enough.' At length they came into this priest's steeple-house

in the Moors: and the priest going before, held open the pulpit door: but G. Fox told him, he would not go into it And this steeple-house being very much painted, he told him and the people, 'That the painted beast, had a painted house.' Then he spoke to them concerning the rise of all those houses, and their superstitious ways; and he told them, 'That as the end of the apostles going into the temple and synagogues, was not to hold them up, but to bring people to Christ, the substance; so the end of his coming there, was not to hold up these temples, priests, and tithes, but to bring them off from all these things, to Christ, the substance. Moreover, he declared to them what the true worship was, which Christ had set up; and he distinguished Christ, the true way, from all the false ways; opening the parables to them, and turning them from darkness to the true light, that by it they might see themselves, and their sins, and Christ their Saviour, that so believing in him, they might be saved from their sins.'

After this, he went to the house of one Birdet, where he had a great meeting, and the priest Boyes accompanied him still, leaving his steeple-house. Then he returned towards Crantsick, to captain Pursloe's, and justice Hotham's, who received him kindly, being glad that truth was spread, and so many had received it. And justice Hotham said, 'If God had not raised up

this principle of light and life, which G. Fox preached, the nation had been overrun with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws: because (said he) they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their old principle still: but this principle of Truth overthrows the principle, and the root and ground thereof.'

Now, though G. Fox found good entertainment, yet he did not settle there, but kept in continual motion, going from one place to another, to beget souls unto God. I do not intend to relate all his occurrences, but will give a short hint only of some of the chief.

Coming then towards night into Patrington, he walked through the town, and meeting the priest in the street, he warned both him and the people, to repent, and turn to the Lord. And people gathering about him, he declared to them the word of life, directing them to the inward word, viz. the light wherewith they are enlightened. Going afterwards to an inn, for it was dark, he desired lodging, but it was denied him: then he asked for a little meat, or milk, offering to pay for it; but this also was refused him. Being thus put off, he walked out of the town, and some *rude fellows* following, asked him, '*What news?* To which his answer was, 'Re-

pent and fear the Lord.' After he was gone a pretty way out of the town, he came to another house, where he desired to have some meat, drink, and lodging, for his money, but they would not suffer him to stay there: then he went to another house, but met with the like refusal. By this time it was grown so dark, that he could not see the highway, but perceiving a ditch, he found a little water, and so refreshed himself. Then he got over the ditch, and being weary, sat down amongst the furze bushes, till it grew day; and then he arose, and passing on through the fields, a man came after him with a pike staff, and went along with him to a town, where he raised the people, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. G. Fox seeing the multitude, warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness, and exhorted them to repent. But they laying hold on him, carried him back to Patrington, and guarded him with halberts, pikes, staves, &c. Being come to the said town, all was in an uproar; and the priest and constable consulting together what to do with him, he took that opportunity to exhort the people to repentance, and to preach the word of life to them. At last a discreet man called him into his house, where he got some milk and bread, not having eaten for some days before. Then he was car-

-ried about nine miles to a justice; and when he was come near his house, there came a man riding after, and asked him, whether he was the man that was apprehended. G. Fox asking him, 'Why?' The other said, 'For no hurt.' Then he told him, 'He was;' and so the man rode away to the justice.

Now the men that guarded G. Fox, said, 'It would be well, if the justice was not drunk when they came to him, because he used to be drunk early.' G. Fox being brought in before him, and not putting off his hat, and saying thou to him, the justice asked the man that rode thither before, 'Whether he was not mazed or fond? But the man said, 'No: It is his principle so to behave himself.' G. Fox, who was unwilling to let any opportunity slip, without admonishing people to virtue, warned the justice to repent, and bid him come to the light which Christ had enlightened him with, that by it he might see all his evil words and actions, and so return to Christ Jesus, whilst he had time, and that he ought to prize that time. 'Ay, ay,' said he, 'The light that is spoken of in the third of John.' G. Fox desired him that he would mind it, and obey it; and laying his hand upon him, he was so brought down by the Lord's power, that all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took G. Fox with him into a parlour with the other men and desired to see what he had in his pocke

of letters, or intelligence; for it seems they suspected him to be an enemy to the Commonwealth. Then he pulled out his linen, and shewed that he had no letters; which made the justice say, 'He is not a vagrant, by his linen,' and set him at liberty. Then G. Fox went back to Patrington again, with that man who had rid before to the justice, and who lived in that town. Coming to his house, he desired G Fox to go to bed, or to lie down upon it: which he did, that they might say, they had seen him in a bed, or upon a bed; for there was a report that he would not lie on any bed, raised doubtless, because about that time he had lain often without doors.

When the first-day of the week was come he went to the steeple-house, and declared the doctrine of truth to the priest and people, without being molested. Then presently after he had a great meeting at that man's house where he lay, and many were convinced that day of the truth he preached; and they were exceeding sorry that they had not given him lodging when he was there before. From thence he travelled through the country, warning people both in towns and country villages, to repent and turn to Christ Jesus their teacher.

On a first-day of the week he came to one *colonel Overton's* house, and had a great meeting *of the chief of* the people of that country

where he opened many things out of the Scriptures, which they never heard before. Coming afterwards again to Patrington, he understood that a tailor and some wild blades in that town, had occasioned his being carried before the justice: this tailor came to ask him forgiveness, fearing he would complain of him: the constables also were afraid lest he should trouble them: but he forgave them all, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. Now that which made them the more afraid, was, that he having been not long before in the steeple-house at Oram, there came a professor that gave him a push on the breast, and bid him get out of the church.' To which G. Fox said, 'Dost thou call the steeple-house the church? The church is the people, whom God hath purchased with his blood, and not the house.' But justice Hotham having heard of this man's thus abusing G. Fox, sent a warrant, and bound the said man over to the sessions. So zealous was this justice to keep the peace, that he had asked G. Fox before, whether any people had abused him: but he esteeming it his duty to forgive all, told him nothing of that kind.

From Patrington he went to several great men's houses, warning them to repent. Some received him lovingly, and some slighted him. Passing thus through the country, at night b

came to another town, where he desired lodging and meat, offering to pay for it; but they would not lodge him, unless he went to a constable to ask leave, which they said was the custom of strangers. But he told them, 'That custom was for suspected persons, and not for such as he, who was an innocent man.' So after he had warned them to repent, and to mind the day of their visitation, and directed them to the light of Christ, and the Spirit of God, he passed away. As it grew dark, he spied a hay-stack, and went and sat under it till morning. The next day he came to Hull, where he admonished the people to turn to Christ Jesus, that they might receive salvation. And being very weary with travelling on foot so far, he got that night a lodging there.

From thence he went to Nottinghamshire, visiting his friends there; and so passed into Linconshire, where he did the like. And coming to Gainsborough, where one of his friends had been preaching in the market, he found the town and people in an uproar; the more, because a certain man had raised a false accusation, reporting, that G. Fox had said, 'He was Christ.' Here going into the house of a friendly man, the people rushed in after him, so that the house soon was filled; and amongst the rest was also this false accuser, who said openly before all the people, 'That G. Fox

said he was Christ; and that he had got witnesses to prove the same.' G. Fox kindled with zeal, stept upon the table, and said to the people, 'That Christ was in them except they were reprobates; and that it was Christ, the eternal power of God, that spoke in him at that time unto them; not that he was Christ.' This gave general satisfaction, except to the false accuser himself, to whom G. Fox said, 'That he was a Judas, and that Judas's end should be his; and that that was the word of the Lord through him [Fox] to him.' The minds of the people coming thus to be quieted, they departed peaceably. But very remarkable it was: this Judas shortly after hanged himself, and a stake was driven into his grave. Now, though this was a well known thing in this country, yet some priests spread a report, that a Quaker had hanged himself in Lincolnshire, and had a stake driven through him. And though this was taken upon trust by hearsay, yet, out of mere malice, a certain priest gave out this falsehood in print, as a true matter. But this wicked slander prevailed so little, that many people in Lincolnshire were convinced of the truth preached by G. Fox.

After this he passed into Yorkshire, and coming to Warnsworth, went to the steeple-house in the forenoon; but found no acceptance; and being thrust out, he was sorely beaten with

staves, and clods and stones were thrown at him; yet he exhorted to repent, and turn to Christ. In the afternoon he went to another steeple-house; but the sermon was finished before he got thither; so he preached repentance to the people, that were not departed, and directed them to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus. From hence he came to Doncaster, where he had formerly preached in the market; but now on the first-day of the week he went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done, he began to speak, but was hurried out, and haled before the magistrates, who threatened him with death, if ever he came thither again. But notwithstanding all this, G. Fox bid them mind the light of Christ in them, saying, 'That God was come to teach his people himself, whether they would hear or not.' After awhile being put out with some of his friends that were with him, they were stoned by the rude multitude. A certain innkeeper, that was a bailiff, seeing this, came and took them into his house, but one of the stones that were thrown hit his head, so that the blood ran down his face. The next first-day, G. Fox went to Tickhill, where he went into the steeple-house, and there found the priest and the chief of the parish in the chancel, to whom he began to speak; but they immediately fell upon him, and the clerk struck him with his bible so

violently on the face, that the blood gushed out, and he bled exceedingly. Then the people thrust him out of the steeple-house, beat and threw him down, and dragged him along the street, so that he was besmeared with blood and dirt, and his hat taken away. When got up again, he spoke to the people, and shewed them how they dishonoured Christianity. Some time after, the priest coming by, scoffingly called G. Fox and his friends, Quakers. But he was spoken to, in such an authority and dread, that he fell a trembling; which made one of the people say, 'Look how the priest trembles and shakes, he is turned a Quaker also.' Some moderate justices now, hearing how G. Fox and his friends had been abused, came to examine the business; and the clerk was afraid of having his hand cut off, for striking him in the church: but G. Fox, as a true Christian, forgave him, and would not appear against him.

Thus far G. Fox only hath been mentioned as a preacher of repentance; but now some others of his persuasion began also to preach publicly, viz. Thomas Aldam, Richard Farnsworth, and, not long after, William Dewsbury. This made such a stir, that the priest of Warnsworth procured a warrant from the justices against G. Fox and Thomas Aldam. The constable who came with this order, which was

to be executed in any part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, took Thomas Aldam, and carried him to York, and G. Fox went with him twenty miles; but though the constable had a warrant for him also, yet he meddled not with G. Fox, saying, 'He was loath to trouble men that were strangers; but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour.' About this time Richard Farnsworth went into an eminent steeple-house, in or about Wakefield; where he spoke so powerfully, that the people were amazed. The priest of that place whose name was Marshal, spread a slanderous report, that G. Fox carried bottles about with him, and made people drink thereof, which made them follow him. And that he rid upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon that horse, and in the same hour in another country threescore miles off. But these horrid lies were so far from turning to the priest's advantage, that he preached many of his hearers away from him; for it was well known, that G. Fox had no horse at that time, but travelled on foot. He coming now into a steeple-house not far from Bradford; the priest took his text from Jer. v. 31. "My people love to have it so;" leaving out the foregoing words, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means." G. Fox unwilling to let this pass unregarded, shewed the people the priest's unfair dealing, and direct-

ing them to Christ, the true inward teacher, declared, 'That God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers and hirelings, that they might come to receive freely from him;' concluding his speech with a warning of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh. He passed from thence without much opposition, and travelled now for some time with Richard Farnsworth, with whom he passed a night in the open field, on a bed they made of fern.

Then parting from him, he came to Wentzerdale, where he went into the steeple-house; and after the lecture, he spoke to the people much in the same terms as he used to do on the like occasions; and had not much opposition there. Thus he went from place to place, and often met with strange occurrences, some of which were more jocose than serious; others very rude, and even dangerous to his life. But he trusted in God, really believing that he had sent him to preach repentance, and to exhort people to a true conversion.

Thus travelling on, he came near Sedbergh; there he went to a meeting at Justice Benson's where a people met that were separated from the public worship; and, by his preaching, he gave *such general satisfaction*, that most of the *hearers were convinced* of the truth declar*ed by him. Thus* the number of his fellow

believers increased so, that now they had meetings by themselves, in many places of the country.

About this time there being a fair at Sedbergh, G. Fox declared the day of the Lord through the fair; and afterwards went into the steeple-house yard, where abundance of people came to him: here he preached for several hours, shewing, that the Lord was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, of Christ, the true teacher, and the true way to God. Moreover, he shewed the declining state of the modern doctors and teachers; and exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands, and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God. None of the priests, several of whom were there, spoke against what he had declared; but a captain said, 'Why will ye not go into the church; for this is not a fit place to preach in?' G. Fox told him, 'That he did not approve of their church.' Then stood up one Francis Howgil, who was a preacher, and though he never had seen G. Fox before, yet he was so affected with him, that he answered the captain, and soon put him to silence: for, said Howgil, 'This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes. After this G. Fox opened to

the people, 'That that ground was not more holy than another place; and that the house was not the church, but the people, whom Christ was the head of.' Then the priests coming to him, he warned them to repent: upon which one of them said, He was mad; but notwithstanding his saying so, many were convinced there that day; and amongst these, one Captain Ward.

The next first-day G. Fox came to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where the said Francis Howgil, and one John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel at that time was so full of people, that many could not get in: and Howgil said afterwards, 'He thought G. Fox looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail.' But G. Fox did not look into it; however, Howgil had been so reached when he heard him preach in the steeple-house yard at Sedbergh, that he was, as it were, checked, and so quickly made an end of his sermon; thinking as well as others, that G. Fox would preach there that day, as indeed he did. For having refreshed himself at noon, with a little water out of a brook, he went and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel, intending to have a meeting there. At this, people wondered, because they looked upon the church (so called) as an holy place, requisite for worship. But G. Fox told them

afterwards, 'That the ground whereon he stood, was as good as that of the steeple-house;' besides, we find, that Christ himself did preach on a monntain, and also at the sea-side. Now in the afternoon, the people gathered about him, with several of their preachers, and amongst these, F. Howgil, and J. Audland. To this auditory, which was judged to consist of more than a thousand people, G. Fox began to preach, and spoke about the space of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themselves, that so they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; by which they should become children of the light, and, by the spirit of truth, be led into all truth; and so sensibly understand the words of the prophets of Christ, and of the apostles, and come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; that so their bodies might be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. Moreover, he explained the prophets, and the figures, and shadows, and directed his hearers to Christ the substance. He also opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and shewed the intent and *scope of the apostles* writings, and epistles to

the elect. Then he spoke also concerning the state of apostacy, that hath been since the apostles days; how the priests had gotten the Scripture, without being in that spirit which gave them forth; and how they were found in the steps of the false prophets, scribes, and Pharisees of old, and were such as the true prophets, Christ, and his apostles cried against; insomuch, that none that were guided by the Spirit of God now could own them.

While G. Fox was thus preaching, many old people went into the chapel, and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill, and not in the church (as they called it.) He perceiving this, said, 'That the steeple-house, and the ground whereon it stood, was no more holy than that hill; and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God, were not set up by the command of God and Christ; nor their priests instituted as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple, and its worship, and their priests and their tithes; and that therefore all ought to hearken unto him; for he said, "Learn of me:" and God said of him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." In conclusion, he said, 'That the Lord God had sent him to preach

the everlasting gospel, and word of life amongst them; and to bring them off from these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which were gotten up since the apostles days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the spirit and power the apostles were in,' Thus preached G. Fox, and his ministry was at that time accompanied with such a convincing power, and so reached the hearts of the people, that many, and even all the teachers of that congregation, who were many, were convinced of that truth which was declared to them.

After this meeting was over, G. Fox went to John Audland's, who, as well as Francis Howgil, and others, had been quite brought over by his effectual preaching. And as these had been zealous preachers amongst those of their former persuasion, so it was not long before they became publishers of that doctrine, which now, by the ministry of G. Fox they had embraced; and were so far from approving their former service, that they gave back the money they received for their preaching to the parish of Colton in Lancashire; being now resolved to give freely what they had received freely. And here I shall make some small digression, in saying something concerning these two excellent men.

John Audland was a young man, and of a *comely* countenance, and very lovely qualities.

When he was but seventeen or eighteen years old, he was very religious, and a zealous searcher of the holy scriptures; and having a good understanding, and strong memory, he thereby gathered a large treasure of scripture learning, became an eminent teacher among the Independents, and had a very numerous auditory. But when he heard G. Fox preach, he was thereby so reached to the heart, that he began in process of time to see the emptiness of his great literal knowledge, and that all his righteousness was but as filthy rags. This brought him to a state of mourning, for now he saw that all his profession and wisdom could not bring him to true happiness. But the Lord, who doth not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, did pity him in this state of deep humiliation, and bore him up again by his supporting power; whereby in time he came to be prepared to that service he was appointed to by God.

Concerning Francis Howgil; he was also a religious man, who having seen the superstitions of the episcopal church, had left it, and applied himself to the Independents. But although he, who had been trained up in the university to be minister, became a teacher amongst the Independents, and was zealous in virtue; yet he remained dissatisfied in himself, finding that notwithstanding all his fasting, praying, and good works, *the root of* sin still remained in him;

and although the common doctrine was, that Christ had taken the guilt of sin upon himself, yet this could not satisfy him; because his conscience told him, "His servant thou art, whom thou obeyest." Thus increasing in understanding, it was revealed to him, that the Lord according to what the prophets had foretold, would teach his people himself; and it seemed also to him, that this time was near at hand. Some while after it happened, as hath been said already, that he was present when G. Fox preached, and when he heard him say, that, 'the light of Christ in man, was the way to Christ,' he believed this to be the word of truth; and he saw how he had been ignorant of the principle of true religion. Submitting then to the reproofs of this inward light, he saw the unfruitfulness of all his labour, and anguish and sorrow seized on him, and judgment went over all his former actions. But he being given up, and resigned in that state, saying with himself, "Thou, O God art just in all thy judgments," it pleased the Lord in due time to fill his heart with joy, and to make him a minister of his everlasting word. But no sooner did he enter into that service, but both priests and magistrates, of whom he formerly had been beloved, became his enemies; and envy was so kindled against him, that he was locked up in a nasty place, at Appleby

in Westmoreland, and was kept there prisoner for some time.

But let me now return to G. Fox, who coming to Kendal, had a meeting there in the town-hall; where, declaring the word of life, he shewed the people, how they might come to the saving knowledge of Christ, and to have a right understanding of the Holy Scripture; opening to them what it was that would lead them into the way of reconciliation with God. This was of such effect, that several became convinced of the truth published by him; and others were so well affected to him, that when he went to Under-Barrow, several people accompanied him, and he had great reasonings with them, but especially with one Edward Burrough, who, though of extraordinary parts, and acquired knowledge, was not able to withstand the efficacious sayings of G. Fox. And because this Burrough became an eminent man among the Quakers, (so called;) being endued with courage and understanding, fit to overcome his opposers, and to break even stony hearts; I will mention here a little of his descent and quality.

He was born in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents who for their honest and virtuous life, were in good repute; he was well educated, and trained up in such learning as that country did afford. His know-

ledge and understanding soon passed his years; for being but a boy, he had the spirit of a man, and in his youth was endued with wisdom above his equals in years. Moreover he was very religious, conversing frequently with those that were in esteem for piety and godly life. Neither was he inclined to the ordinary pleasures of youth; but it was his delight to be exercised in reading of holy scripture, wherein he was well versed. By his parents he was trained up in the episcopal worship; yet when but twelve years of age, he often went to the meetings of the Presbyterians, because their doctrine in many things seemed to him to approach nearer to truth, than that of the public church; wherefore he became a follower of the Presbyterians, although he was reviled for it by his acquaintance. But being come to the age of about seventeen years, and growing more and more sensible of his own condition, he was often struck with terror; and when he had been praying, he heard, as it were, a voice, Thou art ignorant of God; thou knowest not where he is, nor what he is; to what purpose is thy prayer?" This brought him under such a concern, that he began to take diligent heed to his life, so that he abstained not only from all vanities, but when occasion offered, he reproved others for their vain conversation and wickedness; but for this he was derided, and look-

ed upon scornfully by many, yet continued to live religiously, and felt sometimes sweet refreshments to his soul. But though he had the truth in his comprehension, yet he wanted the real and experimental knowledge of it, and so became darkened again, losing what he once possessed: and being too ready to flatter himself, would say, 'Whom God loves once, he loves for ever.' Now he grew weary of hearing any of the priests; for he saw they did not possess what they spoke of to others; and sometimes he began to question his own experiences. Being thus many times put to a stand, he seemed almost to be at a loss. In this condition he heard G. Fox preach, and afterwards reasoned with him; and it pleased the Lord so to open his understanding, that he perceived (as he relates himself) that he was in the prodigal state, above the cross of Christ, and not in the pure fear of the Lord. Being thus convinced, he entered into the society of the despised Quakers, though he was now rejected by his relations, and, by a blind zeal, turned out of his fathers house. This he bore patiently and continued faithful in the doctrine he had embraced. And in process of time he so advanced in true knowledge, that he became a very eminent minister of the gospel. But what adversities did he not undergo? Reviling, slandering, buffetting, and caning were often his lot; watching and

fasting were many times his portion; and imprisonments, great jeopardies, and danger of life, he was not unacquainted with. But nothing could make this hero shrink: he always was laborious, and seldom had any hours of rest. In his preaching he was very acceptable, and eloquent in his speech, and had the tongue, (according to what an eminent author relates, that knew him from his youth) of a learned orator, to declare himself to the understandings and consciences of all men he met with. He was also a great writer, and often would engage in disputes with those of other persuasions, sparing no pains, where he thought he could serve the Lord and the church. Thus much, for this time, of E. Burrough.

Let us return now to G. Fox, whom we left at Under-Barrow, where, with the consent of the inhabitants, he had a great meeting in the chapel, and many were convinced, and received the truth preached by him. From thence he went to Lancashire, and having in some places spoken in the steeple-houses, he came to Ulverstone, and so to Swarthmore, to the house of Thomas Fell, a judge in Wales, where many priests frequently came. The judge was at that time abroad, employed in the exercise of his office, and his wife Margaret was also gone abroad that day. G. Fox in the meanwhile coming thither, met the priest Wil-

liam Lampitt, who was a high notionist, and rich in words. But G. Fox soon perceiving that he was without the possession of what he professed, opposed him boldly. Before it was night, Margaret Fell returned home, and her children told her, That Lampitt and Fox had disagreed, which did somewhat trouble her, for she, making much of the priests, especially admired Lampitt. That same night G. Fox had much reasoning there, and declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and G. Fox discoursed with him in the presence of Margaret Fell, who then began clearly to discern the priest.

The following day being appointed for an humiliation, Margaret went with her children to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, having asked G. Fox before to go with her: but he replying, 'that he must do as he was ordered by the Lord, left her, and walked into the fields; and there he felt a strong motion to go also to the steeple-house. When he came there, the people were singing, but what they sung was according to his opinion, altogether unsuitable to their states. After they had done, he stept up on a form, and asked leave to speak: the priest consenting, G. Fox began thus: 'He is not a Jew, that is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward: but he is a Jew *that is* one inwardly; and that is cir-

cumcision which is of the heart.' And so he went on, and said, 'That Christ was the light of the world, and enlightened every man that cometh into the world, and that by this light they might be gathered to God,' &c. Margaret Fell standing up in her pew, wondered at this doctrine, having never heard any such before. In the meanwhile G. Fox went on, and opening the scriptures, said, 'That they were the prophets words; and Christ's and the apostles words, and that what they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed, and had it from the Lord. What have any to do, said he, with the scriptures, if they come not to the Spirit that gave them forth? You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou, O man, say thyself concerning this? Art thou a child of the light; dost thou walk in the light; and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God?' He shewed also, 'That God was come to teach his people himself by his Spirit, and to bring them off from their churches, and religions, and their ways of worship,' &c. These his words did so effectually reach the aforesaid Margaret, that she sat down in her pew again, and weeping bitterly, cried in her spirit to the Lord, We are all thieves! We are all thieves! We have taken the Scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves.' G. Fox still going on, declared against the false proph-

ets, and said, 'That their way of worship was but talking of other men's words, and that they themselves were out of the life and spirit, which those were in who gave them forth.' Then cried out a justice of peace, called John Sawrey, 'Take him away.' But Margaret Fell said to the officers, 'Let him alone: Why may not he speak as well as any other? Priest Lampitt, it is like to please her, said also, 'Let him speak.' G. Fox then speaking yet awhile, was at length led out by a constable, according to the order of the said justice Sawrey; and then he spoke to the people in the grave-yard.

In the evening, he came again into the house of judge Fell, where he took occasion to speak to the servants, and those of the family, who most of them came so effectually to be convinced by him, that they embraced the truth which he preached. Among these, was also William Caton, of whom more hereafter. Margaret Fell in the meanwhile being come home, was so reached, that she scarce knew what to do, her husband being from home; for she clearly perceived what she had heard G. Fox preach, was truth.

The first day after, he went to Aldenham steeple-house, where, when the priest had done, he spoke to the people, and admonished them to return to the Lord. From thence he went to Ramside, where was a chapel, in which on

Thomas Lawson, who was an eminent priest, used to preach; who having some notice of G. Fox's coming, preached in the morning, and told his people that G. Fox was to come there in the afternoon; by which means, very many people were gathered together. When he came, he saw there was no place so convenient to speak to the people as the chapel, and therefore he went into it. The priest Lawson willing to give a full opportunity to G. Fox, went not up into the pulpit, but left all the time to him. And G. Fox so powerfully declared the truth, that many received it, and among those, the priest himself, who left off his preaching for hire, and in process of time, came to preach the 'Lord Jesus Christ, and his glorious gospel freely;' which however did not hinder him to exercise himself in the knowledge of herbs, wherein he came to be so experienced, that he was, as I have been told, one of the most skilful herbalists in England; which gave occasion to an eminent botanist, who at first seemed a little shy of him, when he perceived his great skill, to love him as a singular friend. But this transiently.

Now I return again to G. Fox, who having performed his service about Ramside, went somewhere else, and came also to Brerecliff, where he found some people that told him, '*They could not* dispute.' But he bid them

ar the Lord, and not to speak the words
od in an airy manner, but do the things
red. Moreover, that they ought to mind
ght of Christ, and take heed to his Spirit
eir hearts, whereby they would come to
heir evil thoughts, words, and actions;
his light (he said) would shew them their
and by following this light, they should
see that their Saviour Christ Jesus, saved
from sin: and he said, 'the first step to
, was to stand still in the light, which
ed them their sins and transgressions; by
h they should see they were in the fall of
ld Adam, in darkness and death, alienated
the covenant of the promise, and without
in the world; and that Christ who died
hem, was their Saviour and Redeemer, and
way to God.' After G. Fox had spoken
he went to a new built chapel near Gleus-
vherein none had yet preached: hither came
at many people, unto whom he preached,
nany were convinced.

om thence he returned to Swarthmore
: for Margaret Fell being full of fear, and
ting her husband's return home, had desired
ox to come, since some of the great ones of
untry being gone to meet her husband, had
ned him, 'That a great disaster had befal-
family; and that the Quakers were witch-
had turned them from their religion: an

that he must send them away, or all the country would be undone.' Without all question, this was a very sad message to judge Fell, for he came home greatly offended: and one may easily think what a condition his wife was in, being in fear that she should either displease her husband, or offend God.

At that time Richard Farnsworth and James Nayler were at her house, and she desired them to speak to her husband; which they did very moderately and wisely: and though at first he was displeased, yet after he had heard them speak, he was better satisfied. And they making as if they would go away she desired them to stay, because she expected G. Fox that evening; and she wished for an opportunity, that both he and they might speak to her husband, whereby he might satisfy himself farther about them. Dinner in the meantime being ready, judge Fell, and his wife Margaret, sat down at table, and whilst they were sitting, an extraordinary power seizing on her, made such an operation on her mind, that he was struck with amazement, and knew not what to think of it; but he was quiet and still ' and the children also were become so grave and modest, that they could not play on their music they were learning. At night G. Fox came, and judge Fell sitting in the parlour, Margaret asked *him, 'If G. Fox* might come in;' and he said

'Yes.' George then coming in without any compliment, began to speak presently; at which the family, as well as J. Nayler, and R. Farnsworth, entered. He now speaking, 'declared what the practice of Christ and the apostles was in their day; and shewed how the apostacy came in since; and what was the practice of the modern priests in the apostacy.' He also answered all the objections of judge Fell, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the Scriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment, and asked, 'If he was that G Fox, whom justice Robinson had spoken so much in commendation of amongst many of the parliament men? To this G. Fox answered him, 'That he had been with the justices Robinson and Hotham in Yorkshire; that they had been very civil and loving to him, and that they were convinced in their judgments by the Spirit of God, that the principle he bore testimony to, was the truth; and that they saw beyond the priests of the nation.' All this so satisfied judge Fell, that he was very quiet that night, and went to bed. The next morning came Lampitt, the priest of Ulverstone, and walking with the judge into the garden, spoke much to him there, to render the doctrine of the Quakers odious to him, having also said to others, that G. Fox held strange notions. But judge Fell had seen the night before so much, that the priest got little

entrance upon him. And when Lampitt came into the house again, G. Fox spoke sharply to him, and asked him, When God spake to him, and called him to preach to the people. The priest not liking such questions, it was not long before he went away. And whilst some were speaking how several in those parts were convinced of the truth now declared, and that they knew not where to get a meeting-place, judge Fell hearing them, said of his own accord, 'You may meet in my hall if you will.' So the next first-day there was at his house a meeting, and a large one indeed, being the first meeting of the people called Quakers, that was at Swarthmore; and so it continued to be kept there until the year 1690, when a new meeting house was built there. Judge Fell not being willing to appear in that meeting, went that day to the steeple-house, and none with him but his clerk and his groom. Yet in process of time he came to be so well affected to the doctrine of the Quakers, so called, that though he did not enter publicly into their society, yet he loved them, and several years before his death, did not frequent the steeple-house any more.

After G. Fox had stayed some days at the house of judge Fell, he went to Lancaster, and there preached in the market; and on the next first-day, had a great meeting in the street *amongst the soldiers*, to whom he declared t

truth; and in the afternoon went to the steeple-house: but speaking there, and directing people to the Spirit of God, he was haled out, and stoned along the street.

Then having travelled about some time, and preached in some places, sometimes with rude opposition, he returned to Swarthmore, where discoursing with several priests at judge Fell's house, he asked them, 'Whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, commanding them to go to any people, and declare the word of the Lord to them. But none of them answered this with, Yea: yet one saying, 'I can speak of my experience as much as you;' G. Fox told them, 'Experience was one thing, but to go with a message, and to have the word of the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had, was quite another.' An ancient priest, whose name was Thomas Taylor, did ingenuously confess before Judge Fell, 'That he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ,' but that he spoke his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages. This very much confirmed Judge Fell in the persuasion he had already, that the priests were not what they pretended to be: for he had thought, as the generality of the people did then, that they were sent from God. At this time, the saying of G. Fox wrought so close on the mind of the said T. Taylor, *that he* was convinced, and travelled

with him into Westmoreland; and coming into Crosland steeple-house, T. Taylor's mouth was opened, so that he declared amongst the people, how he had been before he was convinced; and like the good scribe, brought forth things new and old from his treasury, to the people; and shewed them how the priests were out of the way.

Now great rage arose among the priests, and they began as much as they could, to stir up to persecution; for not only T. Taylor after some time preached the gospel freely, but several others, viz. John Audland, Francis Howgil, John Cam, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Halhead, and others, appeared zealous preachers among those called Quakers; and often declared the doctrine they professed in steeple-houses, and markets; whereby the number of their friends began greatly to increase.

In the meanwhile G. Fox returned into Lancashire, and went to Ulverstone, where Lampitt before mentioned was priest. He now seeing how the people called Quakers did set up meetings, and met in private houses, said, 'They forsook the temple, and went to Jeroboam's calves-houses;' whereas formerly he had preached of a people, 'that would own the teachings of God, and that men and women should come to declare the gospel.' Now it was told him, 'That the old mass houses, which were called churches, were more like Jeroboa

calves-houses; though men strove to persuade people that such a building was the house of God; whereas Christ was the head of the church and never was called the head of an old house; and that the apostle speaking of Christ, said, "Whose house we are," Heb. iii. 6. This passage puts me in mind, how some of the parliament soldiers, observing, over some of the steeple-house doors, these words of the patriarch Jacob, when God had appeared to him in a dream, "this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven," could not endure to see this gross conceit concerning those buildings, but rased out the words, 'of God,' and, 'of heaven; so that nothing was left, but, 'this is none other but the house, and this is the gate:' and certainly their zeal was more reasonable than the conceit of those, who think that in the gospel days a building of lime and stone, may be called the house of God. It seems also a silly conceit, to call a meeting-house, furnished with a steeple, a church, and to deny that name to the congregation-houses of Dissenters, calling them, and them only, meeting-houses. But this notion hath kept up the esteem of those mass-houses; and the priests, that they might not lose their gain of burials, have endeavoured to keep people in the belief, that the ground of these buildings was holy: and this gave occasion

to the people called Quakers, to call those buildings, steeple-houses. Now since a fantastical man I very well knew in Holland, conversing there among the people of that persuasion, undertook to translate that denomination into Dutch, *Gespitste huyzen*, it gave occasion to some Latin writers in Germany, to complain, That the Quakers scornfully called their temples *Domus accuminatas*, And though Croese says also in *Historia Quakeriana* concerning them, *Templa Cuncti Quakeri contumeliose* vocabant ædes pyramidatas, yet he knew better. But this digression has led me off from

G. Fox, whom I left at Ulverstone, where he went to the steeple-house, whilst priest Lampitt was preaching. And when G. Fox began to speak, John Sawrey the justice came to him, and said, 'If he would speak according to the Scripture, he should speak. G. Fox told him, 'He should speak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what he had to say.' But then Sawrey, contradicting himself, said, 'he should not speak;' and incensing the people against him, they fell upon G. Fox, knocked him down, kicked him, and trampled upon him. At last Sawrey came, took him from the people, and led him out of the steeple-house, bidding the constables to whip him. Then he was dragged out of the town, and given up to the rage of the rude multitude, who did so retir-

bly beat him with switches and staves, that at length fainting he fell down upon the wet common; but recovering again, and being strengthened by an immediate power, he stood up, and stretching out his arms, said with a loud voice, 'Strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks.' Then a mason gave him such a heavy blow over the back of his hand with his rule, that it was much bruised, and his arm so benumbed, that he could not draw it to him again, so that some of the people cried out, 'He has spoiled his hand for ever.' But he being preserved through the love of God, stood still, and after a while, felt such an extraordinary strengthening power, that he instantly recovered strength in his hand and arm.

This made the people fall out among themselves; and some said, if he would give them money, they would secure him from the rest. But he, instead of doing so, shewed them their false christianity, and told them, they were more like Jews and heathens, than true christians; and that their fruits were an evidence of the unprofitable ministry of their priests. Then he felt himself moved to return to Ulverstone, and went into the market there: and as he went, a soldier meeting him, said, 'Sir, I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused.' But G. Fox told him, the Lord's *power* was over all. And this he ex-

perienced, when he walked through the people in the market; for none of them had power to touch him then, though some of his friends were abused. And he seeing the soldier among them, with his naked rapier, bid him, put up his sword again if he would go along with him; for he was willing to draw him out of the company, lest some mischief should be done: and yet a few days after, seven men fell upon this soldier, and beat him cruelly, because he had taken part with G. Fox and his friends.

G. Fox having performed his service at Ulverstone, came again to Swarthmore, where he found several of his friends dressing their wounds and bruises received by the hearers of priest Lampitt. And now the priests began to prophesy again, 'That within half a year the Quakers should all be put down and gone.' But they reckoned wrong; for it fared with those people, as with trees, which grow best when most lopped. *Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus, Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso Ducit opes animumque ferro.**

G. Fox keeping in continual motion went with James Nayler to Walney Island, having

* IMITATED.

As by the lopping axe, the sturdy oak
Improves her shade, and thrives beneath the stroke;
Tho' present loss, and wounds severe she feel,
She draws fresh vigour from th' invading steel.

first had a meeting at a little town called Cockan, after which a man came to him with a pistol and held it at him, but it would not go off. G. Fox then zealously speaking to him he was so struck, that he trembled with fear, and went away. The next morning G. Fox went over in a boat to James Lancaster's, and as soon as he came to land, about forty men with staves, clubs, and fishing-poles, fell upon him, beating and punching him, and endeavoured to thrust him backward into the sea: but he pressing on, was knocked down, and stunned. When he came to himself again, he saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at his face, and her husband James was lying over him, to keep the blows and the stones from off him: for the people had persuaded this woman, that G. Fox had bewitched her husband, and promised her to kill him when he came thither. But the Lord, by his invisible power, preserved him wonderfully, so that they could not take away his life. At length he got up, but was soon beat down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, came to him, and set him over the water. Being come to the other side, they saw how the wicked crew was fallen upon James Nayler, with an horrible cry Kill him, Kill him. For whilst they had been beating G. Fox, they had not minded Nayler, who was walking up into a field.

Being come to Lancaster, at the sessions; there appeared about forty priests against him; and these had chosen one Marshal, priest of Lancaster, to be their speaker; and the witnesses they had provided, were a young priest, and two priests' sons. When the justices were set, and had heard all the charges of the priests and witnesses; which were, that G. Fox had said, 'That God taught deceit, and that the Scripture contained but a parcel of lies;' the witnesses were examined upon oath; but they were so confounded, and at such a loss, that one of them, not being able to answer directly to what was asked him, said, the other could say it; which made the justices say, 'Have you sworn it, and do you now say, that the other can say it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have given it in upon your oath.' There were several persons in the court, who declared that they had heard one of the two priests' sons say, If he had power, he would make George deny his profession; and that he would take away his life. The young priest, who also was a witness, confessed, that he should not have meddled with the thing, had not another priest sent for him, and set him on work. After all the accusations had been heard, several men of reputation in the country affirmed in court, that no such words, *as had been* sworn against G. Fox, were spoken

by him at the meeting; for most of the serious men on that side of the county, that were then at the sessions, had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore he spoke the aforesaid blasphemous words. Colonel West, being a justice of the peace, and then upon the bench, was so well pleased with these evidences, that he (having long been weak in body) said, he blessed the Lord that had healed him that day; adding that he never so many sober people, and good faces together in all his life. And then turning himself to G. Fox, said, 'George if thou hast any thing to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it.' Then he began to speak; but priest Marshal, the orator for the other priests, went away presently. Now that which G. Fox declared, was, 'That the Holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and that all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learnt, and also know the Holy Scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scripture; so the same Spirit of God must also be in those that come to know and understand the Scriptures: by which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, and with one another: and that without that Spirit, they *could know neither* God, nor Christ, nor the

Scriptures, nor have right fellowship with one another.' No sooner had he spoken these words but about half a dozen priests burst out into passion, and one of them, whose name was a Jackus, said that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable: which made G. Fox answer, 'Then every one that hath the letter, hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scripture:' To which judge Fell, and colonel West added, that according to that position, they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the Scriptures. The justices also bid Jackus prove what he had said. But he finding himself caught, would have denied it; and the other priests endeavoured to disguise his words with a pretended meaning. But the justices would admit no other meaning, than the plain sense of the words. And seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were set on by the envy of the priests, they discharged him, and after judge Fell had spoken to the justices Sawrey and Thompson, concerning the warrant they had given forth against G. Fox, shewing that this tended to encourage such riots as those in the Isle of Walney, he and colonel West granted a supersedeas, to stop the execution of the said warrant.

G. Fox being thus cleared in open sessions, *many people rejoiced*, and were that day con-

vinced of the truth declared by him in the court; and among these, one justice Benson, and the mayor of Lancaster, whose name was Ripan; also one Thomas Briggs, who had been very averse to, and an opposer of, the Quakers so called; and this same Briggs became afterwards a faithful minister of the gospel amongst them, and remained so to the end of his days.

G. Fox stayed yet some days at Lancaster. But to relate all that he and his friends met with, is not my intention; for to set down at large all such occurrences, would be a work requiring more leisure and strength than can be expected of me. And therefore I intend only to describe what I find most remarkable; though many notable things have happened, of which I could not fully be informed in every circumstance, as name, place, time, &c. But it is probable that this may give occasion in England, to some other author after me, to make such discoveries, that posterity will wonder at it. For such abuses as G. Fox met with, was the share also of many others of his friends, especially the preachers, who this year were no less than twenty-five in number; and almost in every place where they came, they met with opposition, and became as it were the prey of the rude multitude. But neither the beating, buffeting, nor stoning of the mad rabble, nor

the jails or whippings that befel them from the magistrates, were able to stop the progress of the doctrine they preached to the people in markets, and streets, and also in steeple-houses. And many even of those that had been enraged like wolves, became afterwards like lambs, and suffered patiently from others, what formerly they themselves in a blind zeal had committed.

Thus the Quakers, so called, by a firm and lasting patience, have surmounted the greatest difficulties, and are at length become a numerous people, many not valuing their own lives, when they met with any opportunity, for the service of God. And though their enemies, on this account, have charged them with stubbornness and obstinacy, yet they meekly resigned to what befel them, well knowing that thus to be accused hath been always the lot of those who suffered for the testimony of truth. Neither could they be charged with resistance, or making head against their persecutors; for one man did sometimes lead a great many of them to prison, who never forsook their religious assemblies, how hot soever persecution was. That this was also the practice of the primitive christians, appears by what Cyprian (who died a martyr) wrote to Demetrian, viz. *Nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimius et copiosus sit noster populus, ulcisi-*

*tur.** But let not my reader think, that these that I have described have been the greatest sufferings of this harmless people; for I believe them to have been an hundred times more than my pen will be able to mention. Now I take up again the thread of my relation.

G. Fox being acquitted by the court as hath been said, it made the priests fret to hear it cried about, that the priests had lost the day, and that the Quakers had kept the field. To revenge this, they got some envious justices to join with them, who at the following assizes, at Lancaster, informed judge Windham against G. Fox; which so prevailed upon him, that he commanded colonel West, who was clerk of the assizes, to issue forth a warrant for apprehending him, but the said colonel telling the judge of his innocency, spoke boldly in his defence. The judge offended at this, commanded him again, either to write a warrant or to go off from his seat. Then the colonel told him in plain terms, that he would not do it, but that he would offer up all his estate, and his body also for G. Fox Thus the judge was stopt; and G. Fox coming that night to Lancaster, heard of a warrant to be given out aginst him, and therefore judged it better to

* No one of us makes resistance when he is taken up: nor takes any revenge on your unrighteous violence, although our numbers are greater than yours.

shew himself openly, than to make his adversaries seek him. So he went to the chambers of judge Fell and colonel West; and as soon as he came in, they smiled, and the colonel said, 'What! Are you come into the dragon's mouth;' But G. Fox was always undaunted, and did not use to flinch in danger. So he stayed some days in town, and walked up and down there, without being meddled with or questioned by any.

Yet his friends in the meanwhile did not suffer the less; for all the villainy or insolence that could be thought of, was not judged by some to be too bad to vex them. It was about this time that Richard Hubberthorn and several others were haled out of a meeting by some wicked men, and carried some distance off into the fields, where they bound them, and left them so in the winter season.

G. Fox being now come again to Swarthmore, wrote several letters to the magistrates and priests who had raised persecution thereabouts. That to justice John Sawrey was very sharp, and after this manner:

'Friend,

'Thou wast the first beginner of all the persecution in the north. Thou wast the first stirrer of them up against the righteous seed, and *against the truth* of God; and wast the first

strengthener of the hands of evil-doers against the innocent and harmless: and thou shalt not prosper. Thou wast the first stirrer up of strikers, stoners, persecutors, stockers, mockers, and imprisoners in the north; and of revilers, slanderers, railers and false accusers, and scandal-raisers. This was thy work, and this thou stirredst up! So thy fruits declare thy spirit. Instead of stirring up the pure mind in people, thou hast stirred up the wicked, malicious and envious; and taken hand with the wicked. Thou hast made the people's minds envious up and down the country: This was thy work. But God hath shortened thy days, and limited thee, and set thy bounds, and broken thy jaws, and discovered thy religion to the simple, and babes, and brought thy deeds to light. How is thy habitation fallen, and become the habitation of devils! how is thy beauty lost, and thy glory withered! How hast thou shewed thy end, that thou hast served God but with thy lips, and thy heart far from him, and thou in hypocrisy! How hath the form of thy teaching declared itself to be the mark of the false prophets, whose fruit declares itself! For by their fruits they are known. How are the wise men turned backward! View thy ways, and take notice, with whom thou hast taken part. That of God in thy conscience will tell thee. The Ancient of Days will *reprove* thee. How hath thy zeal

appeared to be the blind zeal; a persecutor, which Christ and his apostles forbad christians to follow! How hast thou strengthened the evil-doers, and been a praise to them, and not to them that do well! How like a mad man, and a blind man, didst thou turn thy sword backward against the saints, against whom there is no law! How wilt thou be gnawed and burned one day, when thou shalt feel the flame and have the plagues of God poured upon thee, and thou begin to gnaw thy tongue for pain, because of the plagues! Thou shalt have thy reward according to thy works. Thou canst not escape; the Lord s righteous judgment will find thee out, and the witness of God in thy conscience shall answer it. How hast thou caused the heathen to blaspheme, and gone on with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand in hand with the wicked! How is thy latter end worse than thy beginning, who art come with the dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf to devour the lambs! How hast thou discovered thyself to be a man more fit to be kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be set in a place to nurture! how wast thou exalted and puffed up with pride! And how art thou fallen down with shame, that thou comest to be covered with that, which thou stirredst up, and broughtest forth. Let not John Sawrey take the words of God into his *mouth, till he* be reformed. Let him not take

his name into his mouth, till he depart from iniquity. Let not him and his teacher make a profession of the saints' words, except they intend to proclaim themselves hypocrites, whose lives are so contrary to the lives of the saints; whose church hath made itself manifest to be a cage of unclean birds. You having a form of godliness, but not the power, have made them that be in the power your derision, your bye word, and your talk at your feasts. Thy ill savour, John Sawrey, the country about have smelled, and of thy unchristian carriage all that fear God have been ashamed; and to them thou hast been a grief. In the day of account thou shalt know it, even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou wast mounted up, and hadst set thy nest on high; but never gottest higher than the fowls of the air. But now thou art run among the beasts of prey, and art fallen into the earth, so that earthliness and covetousness have swallowed thee up; and thy conceitedness would not carry thee through, in whom was found the selfish principle, which hath blinded thy eye. Thy back must be bowed down always; or thy table is already become thy snare.

'G. F.'

Sharp indeed was this letter; but G. Fox thought himself moved thereto by the Lord: and it is *remarkable* that this justice Sawrey,

who was the first persecutor in those parts, afterwards was drowned, and so died not a natural death. To the priest William Lampitt he writ also, and another letter to others, to reprove them for their wickedness.

Some time after, he went to Westmoreland, where mischief was intended against him, but prevented by justice Benson, and some considerable men besides. Coming to Grayrigg, he had a meeting there; where a priest came to oppose, but was confounded; and there being many people, some of the milk-pails that stood upon the side of the house, tumbled down, by reason of the crowd; from which the priest afterwards raised a slander, that the devil frighted him, and took away one side of the house. And though this was a known falsehood, yet it was given out as true in public print.

Another time this priest came to another meeting, and fell to jangling, saying first, that the Scriptures were the Word of God. To which G. Fox said, That they were the words of God, but not Christ, who is the Word. And when he urged the priest for proof of what he had said, the priest, being at a loss, was not long before he went away. Some time after coming again into a meeting, and hearing that G. Fox directed the people to Christ Jesus, the priest taking out his bible, said, it was the *Word of God.* Then G. Fox told him, It was

the words of God; but not God, the Word. The priest however persisted in what he had said; and offered to prove before all the people, the Scriptures to be the word of God. But this quarrel tending to vain logomachies, or contest about words, ended in confusion; and many of the priest's followers came to see the vanity of his assertions.

The year being now come to an end, and a war kindled between England and Holland, King Charles II. then in exile, asked the Dutch to be received in their navy as a volunteer, without any command: but this was courteously refused by the States General. Oliver Cromwell in the meanwhile, strove for the supreme authority in England, the more, because he perceived how some of the parliament, jealous of his increasing greatness, endeavoured to cross him in his design. This made him labour to get the parliament dissolved: But they not going on so quickly as he would have them, to put a period to their sitting, he resolved arbitrarily to make an end of them. And entering the house in the month called April, 1653, after having rudely inveighed against them, that they had made a bad use of their authority, and that, without their dissolution the realm would not be safe, &c. he at length cried out, 'you are no parliament:' and then ordering some musketeers to enter, *he made the* members depart the house,

and ordered the doors to be shut, thus putting an end to this assembly, that had been sitting nigh thirteen years.

But what is remarkable, G. Fox not long before being come to Swarthmore, and hearing judge Fell and justice Benson discourse together concerning the parliament, he told them, 'That before that day two weeks the parliament should be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair.' And thus it really happened: for at the breaking up of the parliament the speaker being unwilling to come out of his chair, said, that he would not come down unless he were forced: Which made General Harrison say to him, Sir, I will lend you my hand; and thereupon taking him by the hand, the speaker came down. This agreed with what G. Fox had predicted. And a fortnight after justice Benson told judge Fell, that now he saw George was a true prophet; since Oliver had by that time dissolved the parliament.

Now in Cumberland great threatenings were spread, that if ever G. Fox came there again, they would take away his life. He hearing this, went thither; but nobody did him any harm. Returning then to Swarthmore, where justice Anthony Pearson was at that time; he so effectually declared truth, that this justice was convinced, and not long after entered into the *society of the* despised Quakers.

G. Fox then going again into Cumberland, went to Bootle, and there found preaching in the steeple-house, a priest from London, who gathered up all the scriptures he could think of, that speak of false-prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, and made application of them to the Quakers. But when he had done, George began to speak, and returned all those scripture places on the priest; who being displeased at this, said, that he must not speak there. But G. Fox told him, that the hour-glass being run, and he having done, the time was free for him, as well as for the priest, who was himself but a stranger there. He having said this went on, and shewed who were the false prophets, and what marks the scriptures gave them; directing people to Christ their teacher. When he had done, the priest of the place made a speech to the people in the steeple-house yard, and said, 'This man hath gotten all the honest men and women in Lancashire to him; and now he comes here to do the same.' To which G. Fox returned, 'What wilt thou have left? And what have the priests left them, but such as themselves? For if it be the honest that receive the truth and are turned to Christ, then it must be the dishonest that follow thee, and such as thou art.' Some words were also exchanged about tithes; and G. Fox told them, that Christ had ended the tithing priesthood, and sent forth his

ministers to give freely, as they had received freely.

From thence he went to Cockermouth, near which place he had appointed a meeting; and coming thither he found James Lancaster speaking under a tree, which was so full of people, that it was in danger of breaking. G. Fox now looked about for a place to stand upon for the people lay spread up and down. But at length a person came to him, and asked if he would not go into the church. He seeing no place more convenient to speak to the people, told him, Yes. Whereupon the people rushed in on a sudden, so that the house was so full of people, he had much ado to get in. When they were settled he stood upon a seat, and preached about three hours; and several hundreds were that day convinced of the truth of this doctrine.

From thence he went to other places, and particularly to Brigham, where he preached in the steeple-house with no less success. Afterwards coming into a certain place, and casting his eye upon a woman unknown to him, he told her that she had lived a lewd life; to which she answered, that many could tell her of her outward sins, but of her inward, none could. Then he told her, her heart was not right before the Lord: and she was so reached, that afterwards she came to be convinced of God's truth.

Then he came near Coldbeck, to a market-

town, where he had a meeting at the cross, and some received the truth preached by him.

From thence he went to Carlisle, where the teacher of the baptists, with most of his hearers, came to the abbey, in which G. Fox had a meeting. After the meeting, the Baptist teacher, who was a notionist, and an airy man, came to him, and asked, What must be damned? And he told him, that which spake in him was to be damned. And this stopt his mouth. Then he opened to him the states of election and reprobation, so that he said, he never heard the like in his life, and came afterwards also to be convinced of the truth. Then he went up to the castle among the soldiers, who by beating the drum called the garrison together. Among these he preached; directing them to the measure of the spirit of Christ in themselves, by which they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God: he warned them also to do no violence to any man, &c. G. F. having thus discharged himself, none opposed him, except the serjeants, who afterwards came to be convinced. On the market-day he went into the market, though he had been threatened, that if he came there, he would meet with rude treatment. But he willing to obey God more than man, shewed himself undaunted, and going upon the cross, he declared, that the day of the *Lord was coming* upon all deceitful ways and

doings, and deceitful merchandize; and that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to yea, and nay, and speak the truth to one another.

On the first day following, he went into the steeple house, and after the priest had done, he began to preach. Now the priest going away, and the magistrate desiring G Fox to depart, he still went on and told them, he came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them. And he spoke so powerfully, that the people trembled and shook, and they thought the steeple house shook also; nay, some of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. Some women in the meanwhile making a great bustle ,at length the rude people of the city rose, and came with stones and staves into the steeple house; whereupon the governor sent some musqueteers to appease the tumult; and these,taking G. Fox by the hand in a friendly manner, led him out. Then he came to the house of a lieutenant, where he had a very quiet meeting. The next day the justices and magistrates sent for him to come before them in the town hall. So he went thither, and had a long discourse with them concerning religion, and shewed them, that though they were great professors (viz. Presbyterians and Independents,) yet they were without the possession of what they professed. But afte

; examination they committed him to pri-
ı a blasphemer, an heretick and a seducer.
: he lay till the assizes came on, and then
: talk was, that he was to be hanged:
ne high sheriff, Wilfrey Lawson, was so
to have his life taken away, that he said,
nself would guard G. Fox to execution.
is made such a noise that even great ladies
to see him , as one that was to die. But
;h both judge and magistrates were con-
g how they might put him to death, yet
ıdge's clerk started a question , which puz-
hem, and confounded their counsels, so that
ıs not brought to a trial, as was expected;
ı was however contrary to law. But such
heir envy against him, that the jailer was
ed to put him among thieves and murderers
ome naughty women; which wicked crew
o lousy, that one woman was almost eaten
ath with lice: but what made the prison
'orse, there was no house of office to it,
n this nasty place, men and women were
ogether, against all decency. Yet these
ners how naughty soever, were very loving
Fox, and so hearkened to his wholesome
ıel that some of them became converts.
he under jailer did him all the mischief he
l. Once when he had been at the grate, to
in the meat his friends brought him, the
fell a beating of him with a great cudgel,

crying, 'Come out of the window,' though he was then far enough from it. But whilst the jailer was thus beating him, he was so filled with joy, that he began to sing, which made the other rage the more, so that he went and fetched a fidler, thinking thereby to vex him. But, when this fellow played, he sang a hymn so loud that with his voice he drowned the sound of the fiddle, and thereby so confounded the player that he was fain to give over, and go his ways.

Not long after, justice Benson's wife felt herself moved to eat no meat but what she should eat with G. Fox, at the bars of the dungeon window. Afterwards she herself was imprisoned at York when she was big with child, for having spoken, it is like, zealously to a priest and when the time of her travail came, she was not suffered to go out, but was delivered of her child in prison.

Whilst G. Fox was in the dungeon at Carlisle there came to see him one James Parnel, a little lad of about sixteen years of age; and he was so effectually reached by the speaking of G. Fox that he became convinced of the truth of his sayings; and notwithstanding his youth, was by the Lord quickly made a powerful minister of the gospel, shewing himself both with his pen, and his tongue, a zealous promoter of religion, although he underwent hard sufferings *on that account*, as will be mentioned hereafter.

There were also many others, who not sticking at any adversities, came to be zealous preachers of repentance; among these was Thomas Briggs already mentioned, who went through many cities, towns, and villages, with this message; Repent, repent, for the mighty day of the Lord God of power is appearing, wherein no worker of iniquity shall stand before him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity: for he wills not the death of a sinner; and if ye repent and turn to him, he will abundantly pardon. Sometimes he went into markets and steeple-houses, and was often cruelly abused. Once being in a steeple-house at Warrington in Lancashire, and speaking a few words after the priest had done, he was very violently knocked on his head: after which, a man taking hold of his hair, smote him against a stone, and pulled off an handfull of it, which Thomas taking up from the ground, mildly said, 'Not one hair of my head shall fall without my Father's permission. At another time he speaking to a priest in Cheshire, as he was going on his journey, the priest was much offended at him; and one of his hearers, as it were in revenge for this pretended affront, struck him on the head, and knocked him down; but Thomas getting up again, and turning his face to the smiter, he smote him on his teeth, so that the blood gushed out exceedingly; *which some of the* standers by could not

but cry out against. But not long after, the man that struck him thus, fell sick and, died, crying upon his death bed, 'Oh, that I had not smitten the Quaker!' This Thomas once going through Salisbury, and calling the inhabitants to repentance, was apprehended, and brought before several justices, who proffered him the oath, under pretence of his being a Jesuit: but saying, he could not swear, because Christ had commanded, not to swear at all he was sent to prison, where he was kept a month. He also went up and down the streets of Yarmouth, proclaiming the terrible day of the Lord, that all might repent and fear him, that made heaven and the earth, and the sea. And being followed by a great multitude of rude people, and turning about, he spoke so powerfully to them, and with such piercing words, that they ran away for fear. At length an officer came and took hold of him, and leading him gently, he had opportunity to continue preaching to the people, and to clear himself. Being brought before the magistrates, they ordered him to be led out of the town; which being done, Thomas came in again by another way, and having performed his service there to his satisfaction, he departed the town.

When he came to Lynn, and warned people to repent, a great mastiff dog was set upon him but the dog coming near him, fawned upon him.

Thus he went through many places, passing five or six towns in one day; and though swords were drawn against him, or axes to hew him down, yet he went on, and spoke so awfully, that even some, who did not see his face, were so reached by the power that accompanied him, that they became converts. Coming to Clayzons in Wales, and many hearing him attentively, the constable stirred up the rude people, and cried, Kill, him, Kill him, as if he had been a mad dog; and they threw such great stones upon him, that he admired they did not kill him; but he was preserved by such a mighty power, that according to his relation, they were to him as a nut, or a bean. Many other rude encounters he met with, but was preserved wonderfully in the greatest dangers; which strengthened him not a little in the belief, that God, who so miraculously saved, him did require this service from him. He was also in America, and died in a good old age, after having laboured above thirty years in the service of the gospel.

Miles Halhead was also one of the first zealous preachers among the Quakers, so called. He was the first of his persuasion, that was imprisoned at Kendal. Once he went to Swarthmore to visit his friends, and to assist at their meeting: by the way, he met the wife of the justice Thomas Preston, and because he passed by her quietly, without the ordinary way of

reeting she grew so offended, that she commanded her man to go back and beat him; which he did, At which Miles being kindled with zeal, said to her, 'O thou Jezebel! 'Thou proud Jezebel! Canst thou not permit and suffer the servant of the Lord to pass by thee quietly? She then held forth her hands, as if she would have struck him, and spit in his face, saying, 'I scorn to fall down at thy words.' This made Miles say again, 'Thou proud Jezebel, thou that hardenest thine heart, and brazenest thy face against the Lord, and his servant, the Lord will plead with thee in his own time, and set in order before thee, things that thou hast done this day to his servant.' And so he parted with her, and went to Swarthmore. About three months after this, he felt himself moved to go and speak to her; and when he came to Houlker Hall, he asked for Thomas Preston's wife: she then coming to the door, and Miles not knowing her, asked her, if she was the woman of the house; to which she said, 'No: but if you would speak with Mrs. Preston, I will entreat her to come to you.' Then she went in, and coming back with another woman, said, 'Here is mistress Preston: but then it was manifested to him, that she herself was the woman. It is true, as hath been said, some time before he had seen her on t[illegible] and spoken to her; but it may be, she [illegible] different a dress, that by reason

did not know her; yet firmly believing it was she, he said, 'Woman, how darest lie before the Lord and his servant? Thou he woman I came to speak to.' And she g silent, not speaking a word, he proceeded, oman, hear thou what the Lord's servant hath ay unto thee: O woman, harden not thy rt against the Lord; for if thou dost, he will t thee off in his sore displeasure; therefore e warning in time, and fear the Lord God of aven and earth, that thou mayest end thy ys in peace.' Having said this, he went away, ne, how proud soever, not doing him any harm, eing witheld, without knowing by what. But otwithstanding that, she continued the same: or several years after, when G. Fox was prisoner at Lancaster, she came to him and belched out many railing words, saying, among the rest, 'That his tongue should be cut off, and he be hanged.' But some time after the Lord cut her off, and she died, as it was reported, in a miserable condition.

But before I leave this woman, I must also say that about three years after she had made her man beat Miles, it happened that as he was riding from Swarthmore, near to Houlker Hall, he met with a person who said to him, 'Friend, I have *something* to say unto you, which hath *sin upon me* this long time. I am the man that *bout three* years ago, at the command of my

mistress, did beat you very sore; for which I have been very much troubled, more than for any thing that ever I did in all my life: for truly night and day it hath been often in my heart, that I did not well in beating an innocent man, that never did me any hurt or harm. I pray you forgive me, and desire the Lord to forgive me, that I may be at peace and quiet in my mind.' To this Miles answered, 'Truly friend, from that time to this day, I never had any thing in my heart against thee, nor thy mistress, but love. The Lord forgive you both; I desire that it may never be laid to your charge; for ye knew not what ye did.' Here Miles stopt, and so went his ways. Many a notable occurrence he had in his life, and therefore he is to appear yet more than once in the course of this history.

Travelling once in Yorkshire, he came to Skipton, where declaring the word of truth, he was so sorely abused and beaten, that he was laid for dead; nevertheless, by the Lord's power, he was healed of all his bruises, and within three hours he was healthy and sound again, to the astonishment of those that had so abused him, and to the convincing of many that beheld him.

Then he went to Bradford, Leeds, and Halifax, where he also declared the doctrine of truth amongst the people; but not without meeting *with great persecution.*

From thence he came to Doncaster, and there went on a first-day of the week to a steeple-house, where, after the worship was done, he spoke to the priest and people: but they, instead of hearkening to what he said, fell upon him in a great rage, and drove him out of the town; and he being sorely bruised, they left him for dead. But before his going from home, he had been firmly persuaded, that the Lord would preserve him in all dangers: and it happened so to him according to his belief; for he got up again, and went to a friend's house, where he laid himself down upon a bed. But not long after, he felt a very strong motion to go to a certain chapel, and there to declare the word of the Lord: forthwith he felt also an inward assurance, that if he gave up to do so, the Lord would heal him of his bruises. Then he rose, as well as he could, and came down stairs with great difficulty, by taking hold of the walls for a stay, and going out, he began to mend by degrees; and coming at length into the chapel, he spake as he was moved; and when he had cleared himself, he went back to the house from whence he came, and the Lord made him sound of all his bruises.

From thence he went to York, and there spoke to the lord mayor, and other rulers of that city: and passing through Yorkshire, he

went into several steeple-houses, to exhort the people; and though he met with great hardships, yet he was supported by an invisible hand. So being clear of that country, he returned to his house at Mountjoy, in Underbarrow, in the county of Westmoreland. But his going thus often from home, was an exceeding great cross to his wife, who in the first year of his change, not being of his persuasion, was very much troubled in her mind, and would often say from discontent, "Would to God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him at the alehouse; but now I cannot tell where to find my husband." But after the space of a year, it pleased the Lord to visit her. She had a little son of about five years of age, which child she loved extraordinarily, insomuch that she thought it her only delight and comfort; but it happened that this darling died, and some time after, she spoke thus to her husband: "Truly, husband, I have something to tell thee; one night being in bed, mourning and lamenting with tears in my eyes, I heard a voice, saying, "Why art thou so discontented concerning thy husband? I have called and chosen him to my work; my right hand shall uphold him. Therefore be thou content and pleased, that he serve me, and I will bless thee, and thy children for his sake; and all things shall prosper that thou *shalt take in* hand. But if thou wilt not be

content, but grudge and murmur, and repine against me, and my servant, whom I have chosen to do my work, I will bring a greater cross upon thee." These words being fresh in my mind both night and day, I often said within myself, What cross can this be, that would be greater than the loss of my husband? But for all this, I could not be content: all the joy I had, or could find, was in our little boy, who would often, when he saw me weeping and mourning, take me about the neck, and say, My dear mother, pray be content, for my father will come in a little time. This child would often comfort me in this manner; but for all that, I could not be content. Not long after, it pleased the Lord to take from me this my only son, my chiefest joy. Then the voice which I had heard came into my mind, and I perceiving that this was the cross which the Lord would bring upon me, smote upon my breast, and said within myself, that I was the very cause why the Lord had taken away my little son. A great fear then seizing then upon me, I said, O Lord my God! give me power to be content to give up my husband freely to do thy will, lest, O Lord, thou take away from me all my children. From that time I never durst oppose thee, my husband, any more in the work of the Lord, for fear that his judgments might also fall upon me, and my

children." This served not a little to strengthen and encourage Miles.

Some time after walking in his garden, he felt a motion to go to Stanley chapel in Lancashire. Now though he might expect to meet with rude entertainment there, yet he consulted not with flesh and blood, but went to the aforesaid chapel. Being come, he was not suffered to enter, but the door was violently turned against him. Then he walked in the yard till the worship was done, and the people that came out, (one may guess how edified) fell upon him with great rage, and one captain William Rawlinson took hold of his arms and shoulders, and calling another man to take him by the feet and legs, they threw him over the wall; by which fall he was exceedingly bruised, so that he had much to do to get home. By the way it was inwardly said to him, that he must be content with what was befallen him that day, and that if he was faithful in what the Lord required of him then, he would heal him again. Being come home, he waited upon the Lord to know his will. In this resignedness, within six days, he was moved to go to Windermore steeple-house, and it was, as it were said unto him, 'Fear not the face of any man, but speak the word of the Lord freely; and then thou shalt be made sound again of all thy bruises.' So he went to the said steeple-house, and having spo-

ken the word of the Lord to the priest and people, without receiving any harm, he was healed that day of his sore bruises.

Some time after by another motion, he came to Furness in Lancashire, to the house of captain Adam Sands, where he found a great number of professors gathered, and priest Lampitt preaching. But as soon as Miles entered, Lampitt was silent, which continuing a pretty while, captain Sands said to him, 'Sir, what is the matter? Are you not well?' To which the priest answered 'I am well, but I shall speak no more as long as this dumb devil is in the house.' 'A dumb devil,' said the captain, 'where is he?' 'This is he,' said the priest, pointing with his hand, 'that standeth there.' Then the captain said, 'this man is quiet, and saith nothing to you: I pray you, sir, go on in the name of the Lord; and if he trouble or molest you in my house, I will send him to Lancaster-castle.' But the priest said again, 'I shall not preach as long as this dumb devil is in the house.' Then the captain said to one Camelford, a priest also, 'I pray you, sir stand up, and exercise your gift, and I will see that you be not disturbed.' But the priest answered as the other, 'I shall not speak as long as this dumb devil is in the house.' Then *the people* cried, 'Lord, rebuke thee *Satan; Lord,* rebuke thee Satan: What manner *of spirit is this* that stops our minister's mouths

Then the captain came to Miles, and taking him by the hand, led him out of the house. In all that time he had not spoken a word, and saw now the accomplishment of what he had been persuaded of before, viz. That an invisible power would confound by him the wisdom of the priests, when he spoke never a word. The said Camelford was one who, a good while before had stirred up the rabble against G. Fox; and the other was that Lampitt, who has been mentioned already, and who had been so esteemed by Margaret Fell, before she came to be acquainted with G. Fox.

Some time after this occurrence, Miles went to Newcastle, and there said to the mayor, rulers, and priests of that town, that God's anger was kindled against them, because they had shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, and would not enter themselves, nor suffer them that would. Because of this he was imprisoned; but the mayor being much troubled, sent for the sheriff, for these two had committed Miles; when come, he said to him, 'We have not done well in committing an innocent man to prison: pray let us release him.' The sheriff consenting, Miles was set at liberty. Then he declared the word of the Lord in those parts, and many were convinced of the truth held forth by him. But now I part with this Miles Halhead, who is hereafter to be mentioned again.

About this time, viz. in the summer, general Cromwell had called a new parliament, consisting mostly (as hath been said by some) of members of his own choice; for it was a certain number of persons out of each county and city in England, Scotland and Ireland, nominated by the council of officers, and sent for to meet at Westminster. Into the hands of these, Cromwell delivered the chief authority of the nation, by an instrument, or commission, signed by himself and the officers; but the authority of this meeting lasted scarcely half a year, as will be said in the sequel.

To this parliament a report was made, that at Carlisle, a person was imprisoned, who was to die for religion. This was George Fox, whom we have left thus long in the dungeon at Carlisle and now are returned to him again. The parliament then caused a letter to be sent down concerning him to the sheriff, and other magistrates. And G. Fox knowing how scandalously he had been belied, about speaking blasphemous words, gave forth a paper, wherein he challenged all who found fault with his doctrine, to appear in public; since he was ready to stand the test of whatsoever he might have spoken. He also wrote a significant letter to the justices at Carlisle, wherein he shewed them plainly the injustice of their dealings; and the horrid evil of persecution, as having been alwa

the work of the false church Mention hath been made already of the justices Benson and Anthony Pearson; These had desired, more than once, leave to visit G. Fox in prison; but this being denied them, they wrote a letter to the magistrates, priests, and people at Carlisle, wherein they emphatically described the wickedness of persecution, and what would be the reward of persecutors; saying also that these were worse than the heathen that put Paul into prison; because none of his friends, or acquaintance, were hinderd by them from coming to him. However, at length Pearson had an opportunity to come with the governor into the dungeon, where G. Fox was kept and they found the place so bad, and of so noisome a smell, that the governor cried shame of the magistrates, for suffering the jailor to treat G. Fox after such a manner; and calling the jailors into the dungeon, required them to find sureties for their good behaviour, and put the under-jailor who had been very cruel to G. Fox, into the dungeon with him. In the meanwhile, those who had imprisoned G. Fox, began to grow afraid, the rather it may be, because the parliament took notice of these doings; and it was not long after that he was released; and then coming to the house of Thomas Bewly, near Coldbeck, in Cumberland, there came a Baptist teacher to oppose him; but he found what G. Fox spoke to be so

efficacious, that he became convinced of the truth thereof.

At that time there was also Robert Widders, who being moved to go to Coldbeck steeple-house, the Baptist teacher went with him. Widders coming into the steeple-house, there was one—Hutton preaching, to whom he spoke; but the rude people threw him down, and dragged him into the yard, where they pushed and beat him till the blood gushed out of his mouth, so that he lay for dead some time; but a certain woman coming to him, held up his head, so that at length he recovered his breath. The Baptist who went along with him, had his sword taken from him, and was sorely beaten with it; yet this did not frighten or discourage him; and he not only left off the wearing of a sword, but also freely gave up the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes.

The same day that this preacher was thus attacked with his own sword, being the first of the week, several of G. Fox's friends, and among them William Dewsbury, went, one to this, and others to other steeple-houses; and by such means the number of the said friends increased: though Dewsbury at that time was so violently beaten by the people that he was almost killed; but the Lord's power healed him again.

But to return to Robert Widders: He bei

recovered from the rude treatment he met with, as hath been said, felt himself so encouraged anew, and strengthened in his undertakings, that he went, the same day in the afternoon, seven miles to Ackton steeple-house, where he spoke to priest Nichols, and calling him, an enemy of Christ, told him also, That the hand of the Lord was against him. Then William Briscoe, a justice of Crofton, commanded the constable to secure Robert; which he did, and carried him to the priest's house; where being examined by the justice, the priest began to fawn upon him. Thereupon Robert told the priest, that the spirit of persecution lodged in him. But the priest said, 'No, he was not such a man.' Yet presently after he had said to the justice, that Robert had stolen the horse he came with: and, that he could find in his heart to become his executioner with his own hands: which made Robert say, 'Did I not say unto thee, that the spirit of persecution lodged in thee?' Then the aforesaid justice writ a warrant to send Robert to Carlisle gaol; and after having given the warrant to the constable, he asked Robert by what authority or power he came to seduce and bewitch the people? Robert answered. 'I came *not to seduce* and bewitch the people, but I *came in that* power which shall make thee, and *all the powers of* the earth, bend and bow down *before it, to wit,* the mighty power of God.'

Whilst Robert was speaking thus, the dread of the Lord seized on the justice, and so struck him, that he called for his warrant again, and took it out of the constable's hand, suffering Robert, about night, to go away.

He being thus freed, did not leave visiting the steeple-houses from time to time, for which he was sometimes imprisoned, and at other times was saved remarkably. Once coming near Skipton in Yorkshire, at the steeple-house, he spoke very sharply to the priest———Webster; since he was one that had been partly convinced of the doctrine of the inward light, but becoming disobedient thereunto, was turned back again. He also spoke to the people, and to justice Coats, bidding them to bind the word of God in the heart, which divided between the precious and the vile. After having cleared himself, he went to a place where a few of his friends were met together; but he had not been long there, when there came some horsemen and foot, who took him away, and carried him to the said justice; who examining him, said, he had broken the law, by disturbing the minister and the people, and that he might send him prisoner to York-castle. Robert answered, 'send me to *gaol thither, if* thou darest; for I appeal *to the witness of God* in thy conscience.' But *the justice being* a moderate man, said, 'I neither *dare nor will;*' and taking Robert by t

hand, told him, he might take his own time in going away.

To relate all the occurrences of this Robert Widders, would be too prolix; therefore I will only say, that as he was very zealous in speaking to the priests, so he suffered very much in his estate, because for conscience-sake he refused to pay them tithes; and on that account there was taken from him, at sundry times, to the value of £143. besides what he suffered for meetings, and for Sunday shillings, so called, which also amounted to a considerable sum. And this not only befel him, but it was the portion of many hundreds, nay, perhaps thousands of those of his persuasion. Wherefore I will not undertake to relate all that might be mentioned of this kind; for that would be beyond my reach.

However by this that hath been said, may be seen, by what means the Quakers, so called, grew so numerous in those early times. As on one hand there were raised zealous preachers: so on the other, there were abundance of people in England, who, having searched all sects, could no where find satisfaction for their hungry souls. And these now understanding that God by his light was so near in their hearts, began to *take heed thereunto*, and soon found that this *gave them far more* victory over the corruption *of their minds*, under which they had lor *groaned, than all* the self willed-worl

which they with some zeal had performed many years. And besides those that were thus prepared to receive a farther manifestation of the way of life, there were also many of a rude life, who being pricked to the heart, and brought over by the christian patience of the despised Quakers, became as zealous in doing good, as formerly they had been in working evil.

Perhaps some will think it was very indecent that they went so frequently to the steeple-houses, and there spoke to the priests; but whatsoever any may judge concerning this, it is certain that those teachers generally did not bring forth the fruits of godliness, as was well known to those who themselves had been priests, and resigned their ministry, thenceforth to follow Christ in the way of his cross; and these were none of the least zealous against that society among whom they formerly had ministered with an upright zeal. Yet they were not for using sharp language against such teachers, who according to their knowledge, feared God; but they levelled their aim chiefly against those who were only rich in words, without bringing forth true christian fruits, and works of justice. Hence it was that one Thomas Curtis, who was formerly a captain in the parliament army, but afterwards entered into the society of the people called Quakers, wrote, in a letter to Samuel Wells, priest of Banbury, and a persecutor

those of that persuasion, amongst other things, these words; "To thy shame, remember I know thee scandalous. How often hast thou sat evening after evening at cards, and sometimes whole nights, playing, and compelling me to play with thee, for money; yet then thou wast called of the world a minister; and now thou art turned persecutor,' &c. None therefore need think it strange, that those called Quakers did look upon such teachers as hirelings. And that there were not a few of that sort, appeared plainly when King Charles II. was restored; for those who had formerly cried out against Episcopacy, and its liturgy, as false and idolatrous, then became turn-coats, and put on the surplice, to keep in the possession of their livings and benefices. But by so doing, these hypocrites lost not a few of their auditors, for this opened the eyes of many who began to inquire into the doctrine of the despised Quakers, and saw that they had a more sure foundation, and that this it was which made them stand unshaken against the fury of persecution.

Let us again take up the thread of those transactions which concern G. Fox; who now travelling through many places in the north of England, *had every where* great meetings; but now and *then met with* some opposition; sometimes with *hands, and at* other times with the tongue. *ng the rest,* at Derwent water in North

umberland; where in a dispute reccommending perfection, he was contradicted; but to prove his position, he said, that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God made was perfect: and that the imperfection came by the Devil and the fall; but that Christ, who came to destroy theDevil, said, "Be ye perfect.' To this one of the professors answered, that Job said, Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clean in his sight. God chargeth his angels with folly. But G. Fox shewed him his mistake, and told him, that it was not Job that said so, but one of those that contended against him. Then the professors said, the outward body was the body of sin and death; but G. Fox replied, that Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of sin and death got into them; and that men would have bodies, when the body of sin and death was put off again, and they were renewed into the image of God again by Christ Jesus.

Thus G. Fox found work almost every where, and passing to Hexham, he had a great meeting there on the top of a hill. The priest indeed had threatened that he would come and oppose; but came not.

G. Fox then travelling on, came into Cumber-*land, where he had* a meeting of many thousand *of people on a hill* near Langlands. Once

he came into Brigham steeple-house, before the priest was there, and declared the truth to the people; but when the priest came in, he began to oppose, but was wearied so, that at length he went away.

There being now also several others who preached the doctrine of the inward light of God which convinceth man of sin, the number of those professors of the light increased greatly. And as it had been said at first, that they should be destroyed within a short time; so now the priests began to say, that they would eat out one another. For many of them, after meetings, having a great way to go, stayed at their friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge, so that some lay on the hay-mows. This made some of the public church grow afraid, that this hospitality would cause poverty, and that when these friends had eaten out one another, they would come to be maintained by the parishes, and so be chargeable to them. But it fell out quite otherwise, for these people were the more blessed, and increased, without falling into want. This puts me in mind of what one of the daughters of judge Thomas Fell once told me, viz. That her father having been abroad, and coming home with his servants, found the shed so full of the horses of strange guests, (for Margaret his wife had cleared the stable where they first stood

to make room for her husbands own horses) that he said to his wife, this was the way to be eaten out, and that thus they themselves should soon be in want of hay. But to this Margaret said in a friendly way, that she did not believe when the year was at an end, that they should have the less for that. And it so fell out; for this year their stock of hay was such, that they sold a great parcel of what they had in abundance. Thus the proverb was verified, that charity doth not impoverish. The truth of this was also experienced by those called Quakers: for though many people at first were shy, and, would not deal with them, because of their nonconformity with the vulgar salutation, and their saying Thou and Thee to a single person, instead of You. &c. insomuch, that some that were tradesmen lost their customers, and could hardly get money enough to buy bread; yet this changed in time, when people found by experience that they could better trust to the words of these, than to those of their own persuasion. Hence it was, that often when they came into a town, and wanted something, they would ask, where dwells a draper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman that is a Quaker? But this so exasperated others, that they began to cry out, If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands. Now the cause of their trades thus increasing, was, b

cause they were found upright in their dealing; for integrity did then shine out among them above many others; to this the true fear of God led them, and to this they were exhorted from time to time. G. Fox also writ a general epistle to them, which was as followeth:

To you all, Friends every where scattered abroad.

'In the measure of the life of God, wait for wisdom from God, even from him, from whence it comes. And all ye, who be babes of God, wait for the living food from the living God to be nourished up to eternal life, from the one fountain, from whence life comes: that orderly, and in order, ye all may be guided and walk: servants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families: that every one, in your respective places, may adorn the truth; every one in the measure of it. With it, let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jesus, from whence it doth come; that a sweet savour you may be to God, and in wisdom ye may all be ordered and ruled; that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no strife, nor bitterness, nor self-will may appear amongst you; but with the light, in which the unity is, all that may be condemned. And that every one in particular

to, and take care of, the ordering and
' their own family: that in righteous-
l wisdom it may be governed, the fear
d of the Lord in every one's heart set,
secrets of the Lord every one may
receive, that stewards of his grace you
e to be, to dispense it to every one as
e need; and so in savouring and right
g, you may all be kept; that nothing
ontrary to the pure life of God, may be
forth in you, or among you; but all
ontrary to it, may by it be judged; so
ght, in life and love, ye may all live;
hat is contrary to the light, life, and
y be brought to judgment, and by that
ndemned. And that no fruitless trees
g you; but all cut down and condemn-
e light, and cast into the fire; so that
e may bear and bring forth fruit to God,
w fruitful in his knowledge and in his
And so that none may appear in
eyond what they are in the life, that
th the words; here none shall be as the
' figs; and none shall be of those trees,
ruit withers: such go in Cain's way,
: light; and by it are condemned. And
e amongst you boast yourselves above
asure; for if you do, out of God's king-
are excluded: for in that boasting part
he pride, and the strife, which is con

trary to the light; which light leads to the kingdom of God; and gives every one of you an entrance thereinto, and an understanding, to know the things that belong to the kingdom of God. And there the light and life of man every one receives, Him who was before the world was, by whom it was made; who is the righteousness of God, and his wisdom: to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praise belongs, who is God blessed forever. Let no image, nor likeness be made; but in the light wait, which will bring condemnation on that part, that would make the image: for that prisons the just. So to the lust yield not the eye, nor the flesh; for the pride of life stands in that, which keeps out of the love of the Father; and upon which his judgments and wrath remain, where the love of the world is sought after, and a crown that is mortal; in which ground the evil enters, which is cursed: which brings forth briars and thorns, where death reigns; and tribulation and anguish is upon every soul, and the Egyptian tongue is heard; all which is by the light condemned. And there the earth is, which must be removed; by the light it is seen, by the power it is removed, and *out of its place* it is shaken; to which the thunders *utter their voices*, before the mysteries of God *are opened*, and Jesus revealed. Therefore all *whose minds* are turned to this light (which

brings condemnation upon all those things before mentioned, that are contrary to the light) wait upon the Lord Jesus for the crown, that is immortal, and that fadeth not away.

G. F.'

This epistle he sent to be read at the meetings of his friends. Not long after, a certain priest of Wrexham in Wales, whose name was Morgan Floyd, sent two of his congregation into the north of England, to inquire what kind of people the Quakers were. These two coming thither, found the doctrine of the said people such, that they became convinced of the truth thereof, and so embraced it; and after some stay, they returned home. One of these was called John ap John, and continuing faithful, became a minister of the gospel he had thus received; but the other afterward departed from his convincement

Let us now take a short view of state affairs in England. We have seen already Cromwell's power so great, that he ventured to dissolve the long Parliament, and that he called another in its room. But before the year's end, this Parliament resigned the power into the hands of Cromwell, from whom they had received it. Thus he, with his council of field officers, saw himself again in the possession of the supreme government; and it was not long before th

council declared: "That henceforth the chief rule of the nation should be entrusted to a single person and that this person should be Oliver Cromwell, chief general of all the forces in England Scotland, and Ireland; that his title should be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland: and all the dominions belonging thereunto; and he was to have a council of twenty one persons to assist him in the government."

This matter being thus stated, the commissioners of the great seal, and the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, were required, on the 16th of December, to attend Cromwell, and his council, in Westminster hall. Being come thither, the instrument of government was read, whereby Cromwell was declared Protector, he standing all this while bare-headed, and major-general Lambert kneeling, presented him with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword; which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, to intimate thereby that he would no longer rule by the military sword. The said instrument, being writ on parchment contained "That the Protector was to call a Parliament every three years; that their first meeting should be on the 13th of September next ensuing: that he should not be permitted to dissolve *a parliament*, before it had sat five months; that *the bills* presented to him for his consent, if he

did not confirm them within twenty days, should have the force of laws; that he was to have a council, who were not to exceed the number of twenty one, and not to be under thirteen; that forthwith after his death, the council was to choose another Protector; that no Protector after him, should be capable of being chief general of the army; and that it should be in the power of the Protector to make war and peace." Whilst this instrument was reading, Cromwell held his hand on the bible, and afterwards took the oath, that he would perform all that was contained therein. This being done, he covered himself, all the others remaining uncovered. Then the commissioners delivered the seals to him, and the lord mayor of London the sword; all which he restored again, with an exhortation to use them well. Afterward General Lambert carried the sword before him to his coach, in which he went to Whitehall, where he was proclaimed Protector, which was done also in the city of London, Now he was attended like a prince, and created knights as kings used to do. Thus Cromwell, by a singular, and very strange turn of mundane affairs, saw himself placed in the palace, from whence he and his adherents had cast out King Charles the first.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE THIRD BOOK.

Oliver Cromwell in the beginning of the year 1654, seeing himself invested with the supreme authority of the nation, required, both of the soldiers and others, the oath of fidelity. But since amongst the first, there were many, who though convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Quakers so called, yet had not convenient opportunity to leave the military service, it now presented itself; for when the oath was tendered them, they declared that in obedience to Christ's command, they could not swear; whereupon they were disbanded. Among these was John Stubbs, a man skilled not only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also in the Oriental languages; he was convinced by G. Fox, when in Carlisle prison, and became afterwards a faithful minister

of the gospel. But some of the soldiers, who had been convinced in their judgment, not continuing stedfast, took the required oath, but not long out-lived it; for marching afterwards into Scotland, and passing by a garrison there, these, thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, whereby several were killed.

G. Fox now seeing the churches of his friends in the north settled, passed from Swarthmore, (where he was about the beginning of this year) to Lancaster, and from thence to Synder-hill-green, where he had a great meeting of some thousands of people, among whom were many persons of note; and a general convincement there was, so that a great number entered into the communion of those called Quakers, with whom about this time, Ambrose Rigge was also united, who, having been inclined to godliness from a youth, hearing G. Fox preach, and being convinced of the truth of the doctrine he taught, received it, and became a professor of it, though for that reason, he was cast out by his parents and relations.

We have seen the first rise of these christians, called Quakers, in the north of England, and how they increased under the oppression of persecution, so that in most places, in those parts meetings were settled: it remains to relate how they spread farther.

There were now above sixty ministers of th

word raised among them, and these went out in the service of the gospel, to turn people where they could have an opportunity, from darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan to God. Of these, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough went to London; John Camm and John Audland, to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, to Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and others other ways. G. Fox, well knowing this to be a weighty work, writ a large epistle to these ministers, wherein he admonished them to prudence, advising them, to know the Seed of God, which bruiseth the head of the serpent; also to know the power of God, and the cross of Christ: to receive wisdom from God by the light; and not be hasty, or to run in their own wills, but to continue in patience.

I will first mention somewhat of the occurrences at London, whither Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, with Anthony Pearson, who had been a justice of peace, came in the forepart of the summer. Howgill and Pearson were the first of the people called Quakers, that had a meeting in this great city, where they preached in the house of one Robert Dring, in Watling-street; and Burrough was, as I have been informed, that day in an assembly of a separate society. Yet I have been told also, that Ruth, wife of William Crouch, merchant, in

London, had said, that somewhat before that time, there had been in the said house meetings of some few persons, of whom she was one; and also Anne Downer, afterwards married to George Whitehead; that one Isabella Buttery, with another woman having spread in London some books, and among these one of G. Fox's, called The way to the Kingdom, had met with this small company, of which were but two or three men, one of which was Amos Stoddard, formerly a military officer, mentioned already: and that the said Isabella sometimes spoke a few words in this small meeting. But when F. Howgill and E. Burrough were come to London, things began to have another face; for they laid hold of all opportunities they could light on to preach the gospel.

At London there is a custom in summer time, when the evening approaches, and tradesmen leave off working, that many lusty fellows meet in the fields, to try their skill and strength in wrestling, where generally a multitude of people stand gazing in a round. Now it so fell out, that E. Burrough passed by the place where they were wrestling, and standing still amongst the spectators, saw how a strong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durst venture to enter the lists. At length none being bold enough to try, E. Burrough stept into the

ring (commonly made up of all sorts of people) and having looked upon the wrestler with a serious countenance, the man was not a little surprised, instead of an airy antagonist, to meet with a grave and awful young man; and all stood amazed at this sight, eagerly expecting what would be the issue of this combat. But it was quite another fight E. Burrough aimed at. For having already fought against spiritual wickedness, that had once prevailed in him, and having overcome in measure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured also to fight against it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention, he began very seriously to speak to the standers by, and that with such a heart-piercing power, that he was heard by this mixed multitude, with no less attention than admiration; for his speech tended to turn them from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan to God. To effect this he laboured with convincing words, shewing, how God had not left himself without a witness but had given to every man a measure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Christ. Thus he preached zealously; and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of such effect that many were convinced of the truth; for he was a breaker of stony hearts, and therefore by a certain author, not unjustly called a son of thunder; though he also

omitted not in due season, to speak a word of consolation to those who were of a broken heart and of a contrite spirit.

But to thunder against sin and iniquity, was his peculiar talent; insomuch, that once preaching very zealously in a meeting, and perceiving there were some contrite souls, that wanted spiritually-refreshing food, he was heard to intimate, that though his present speaking was not milk for babes, yet he would remember such anon, and administer to them also; but now he must thresh the whore. And indeed he was one of those valiants, whose bow never turned back, nor sword empty from the slaughter of the mighty; for the Lord blessed his powerful ministry with very glorious success; nay he was such an excellent instrument in the hand of God that even some mighty and eminent men were touched to the heart by the power of the word of life, which he preached. And although coals of fire as it were, came forth of his mouth, to the consuming of briars and thorns and he passing through unbeaten paths, trampled upon wild thistles, and luxuriant tares; yet his wholesome doctrine dropped as the oil of joy upon the spirits of mourners in Sion. Hence it was that Francis Howgill not unjustly said of him when deceased; *Shall* days, or months, or years wear *out thy name, as* though thou hadst no being? *Oh nay; Shall* not thy noble and valiant acts

and mighty works which thou hast wrought, through the power of him that separated thee from the womb, live in generations to come? Oh yes! The children that are yet unborn shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in the generations who yet have no being.

The said Howgill, also an eminent and eloquent man being now at London, went to court, to utter what was in his mind to Oliver Cromwell. And after having spoken to him, he thought it convenient to express himself further in writing; as he did by the following letter:

'Friend,

'I was moved of the Lord to come to thee, to declare the word of the Lord, as I was moved of the Lord, and deal plainly with thee, as I was commanded, and not to petition thee for any thing, but to declare what the Lord had revealed to me, concerning thee; and when I had delivered what I was commanded, thou questioned it, whether it was the word of the Lord or not, and soughtest by thy reason to put it off; and we have waited some days since, but cannot speak to thee, therefore I was moved to write to thee, and clear my conscience and leave thee. Therefore hear the word of the Lord. Thus *saith the Lord*, I chose thee out of all the nations *when thou* wast little in thy own eyes, and threw *down the* mountains and the powers of the earth

before thee, which had established wickedness by a law, and I cut them down, and broke the yokes and bonds of the oppressor, and made them stoop before thee, that thou passedst over them, and trode upon their necks; but thus saith the Lord, now thy heart is not upright before me, but thou takest counsel but not of me; and thou art establishing peace, and not by me; and thou art setting up laws but not by me; and my name is not feared, neither am I sought after; but thy own wisdom thou establishest. What saith the Lord, have I thrown down all the oppressors, and broken their laws, and thou art now going about to establish them again, and art going to build again that which I have destroyed? Wherefore thus saith the Lord, Wilt thou limit me, and set bounds to me, when, and where, and how, and by whom, I shall declare myself, and publish my name? Then will I break thy cord and remove thy stake, and exalt myself in thy overthrow. Therefore this is the word of the Lord to thee whether thou wilt hear, or forbear, If thou take not away all those laws which are made concerning religion, whereby the people which are dear in mine eyes, are oppressed, thou shalt not be established; but as thou hast trodden down my enemies by my power, so shalt *thou be* trodden down by my power, *and thou shalt know* that I am the Lord: for *my gospel shall* not be establised by thy sword.

nor by thy law; but by my might, and by my spirit. Unto thee, this is the word of the Lord, Stint not the Eternal Spirit, by which I will publish my name, when, and where, and how I will; for if thou dost thou shalt be as dust before the wind; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, and he will perform his promise. For this is that I look for at thy hands, saith the Lord, that thou shouldst undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free. Are not many shut up in prison, and some stocked, some stoned, some shamefully entreated? And some are judged blasphemers by those who know not the Lord, and by those laws which have been made by the will of man, and stand not in the will of God; and some suffer now, because they cannot hold up the types, and so deny that Christ is come in the flesh; and some have been shut up in prison, because they could not swear, and because they abide in the doctrine of Christ; and some for declaring against sin openly in markets, have suffered as evil-doers; and now if thou let them suffer in this nation by those laws, and count it just; I will visit for those things, saith the Lord, I will break the yoke from off their necks, and I will *bring* deliverance another way, and thou shalt *know that I am* the Lord.

"Moved of the Lord to declare and write this, by a servant of the truth for Jesus's sake, and a lover of thy soul, called,

FRANCIS HOWGILL."

ie last of the first month,)
out the ninth hour, waiting }
James's Park at London.)

How this was received I am not acquainted; it this I have understood, that some of Cromell's servants, and among these one Theophilus reen, and Mary, afterwards wife of Henry out, were so reached by F. Howgill's discourse, at after some time they entered into the soci-y of the Quakers, so called.

Now in the said letter, or speech, we find otice taken of laws made concerning religion: ese I do not look upon as made by the induc-on of Cromwell; but such as were made in rmer times, which he could have altered, if he ould have done it: as afterwards many penal ws were abrogated, under the reign of King 'illiam and Queen Mary, as will be said in its oper place. For I do not find that in Crom-ell's time any laws were made to constrain eople to frequent the worship of the public national church. But notwithstanding, the *uakers, so called*, were imprisoned for refusing *swear, or* for not paying tithes to maintain

the priests; and they were whipped like vagabonds, for preaching in markets, or in other public places; or they were fined for not taking off their hats before magistrates; for this was called contempt of the Magistracy; and when for conscience sake they refused to pay such a fine, either the spoiling of goods, or imprisonment became their share: and thus always a cloke or cover was found to persecute them, and malice never wanted pretence to vex them. And it also often happened, that E. Burrough and F. Howgill were opposed by the chiefest of several sects, whereby disputes were raised, which many times gave occasion for some of the hearers to embrace the doctrine maintained by the said Burrough and Howgill; which so enraged their enemies, that no slanders were spared, and they sometimes branded them as witches. In the meanwhile the people called Quakers, so increased in London, that they began to have settled meetings, the first of which was in Aldersgate Street, at the house of one Sarah Sawyer. The first among women of this society that preached at London publicly, was the already mentioned Anne Downer, afterwards married to one Greenwell, and having become a widow, in process of time entered into matrimony with George Whitehead, as hath been hinted already.

The number of the said people increasing at London from time to time, several meetings

were now erected there, one of which was in the house of one —— Bates, in Tower-street, and another at Gerard Robert's in Thomas Apostles; until the church became so great, that a house known by the name of the Bull and Mouth, in Martin's le Grand, near Aldersgate, was hired for a meeting house; and it being a building that had belonged to some great man, there was a large hall in it that would hold many people, and so was very convenient for a meeting place.

Abundance of books were now spread against the Quakers, as seducers and false prophets; and these written by the priests and teachers of several sects: for they perceiving that many of their hearers forsook them, left no stone unturned to stop it. But the event did not answer their hope, since Burrough and Howgill did not suffer those writings to go unanswered, but clearly shewed the malice and absurdities of those writers.

Leaving them busy with this work, we will take a turn toward Bristol, to behold the performances of John Audland, and Thomas Airey, who came thither in the month called July in this year, and going into the meetings of the Independents and Baptists, they found opportunity *to preach Truth* there, and also had occa*sion to speak to* others, so that many received *their testimony.*

From thence they went to Plymouth in Devonshire, and so to London, where they met with John Camm; but after some stay there, John Audland returned to Bristol with John Camm, and found there a door opened for their ministry. Among those that did receive their testimony, were Josiah Cole, George Bishop, Charles Marshall, and Barbara Blaugdone, concerning which persons more is to be said hereafter. It was not long ere F. Howgill and E. Burrough, having gathered a church at London, came also to Bristol, where persecution now began to appear with open face: for the magistrates commanded them to depart the city and the liberties thereof; to which they answered, that they came not in the will of man; and that when He who moved them to come thither, did move them also to depart, they should obey; that if they were guilty of the transgression of any law, they were not unwilling to suffer by it; that they were freeborn Englishmen, being free from the transgression of any law; and that if by violence they were put out of the city, they were ready to suffer, and would not resist; and so they departed out of the presence of the rulers. But now the priests, *especially* one Ralph Farmer, began to incite *and enrage the* people, and to set the city, as it *were, on fire.*

Hence it was that J. Camm and J. Audland,

intending to have a meeting at Brislington, about two miles from Bristol, and passing over a bridge, were assaulted by the rabble of the city and several apprentices of Farmer's parish, who having got notice of their coming were gathered there, and violently abused them with beating, kicking, and a continual cry, Knock them down, Kill them, or hang them presently. Thus they were driven back, and forced into the city again, narrowly escaping with their lives. But the tumult did not yet cease; for some of the multitude were heard to say, that they should find more protection from the magistrates, than those strangers, viz. Camm and Audland. But the officers of the garrison, thinking it unwarrantable to permit such a tumult, since it was not without reason to be feared, that the royalists, or abettors of King Charles, might take hold of such an opportunity and raise an insurrection, caused three of the ringleaders to be seized; but this made such a stir, that the next day more than five hundred people, as it was thought, were gathered together in a seditious manner, so that their companions were set at liberty. This made the tumultuous mob more bold and saucy, the rather because they saw that the magistrates. hearing J. Camm and J. Audland not only had kept a meeting at Brislington, but also had visited some in their

houses at Bristol, had bid them to depart the town.

Now the riotous multitude did not stick to rush violently into the houses of the Quakers, so called, at Bristol, under a pretence of preventing treasonable plottings. And when some in zeal told the priests, these were the fruits of their doctrine, they incited the people the more, and induced the magistrates to imprison some of those called Quakers. This instigated the rabble to that degree, that now they thought they had full liberty to use all kind of insolence against the said people; beating, smiting, pushing, and often treading upon them, till blood was shed: for they were become a prey to every malapert fellow, as a people that were without the protection of the law. This often caused a tumult in the town; and some said (not without good reason) that the apprentices durst not have left their work, had not their masters given them leave. And a certain person informed the mayor and alderman upon his oath, that he had heard an apprentice say, that they had leave from their masters, and were encouraged; for alderman George Hellier had said, he would die rather than any of the apprentices should go to prison. Now an order of sessions came forth, that the constables do once in every fortnight, make diligent search within their several wards, for all strangers and suspicious persons;

and that all people be forewarned not to be present at any tumult, or other unlawful assembly, or gather into companies or multitudes in the streets, on pain of being punished according to law. But this order was to little purpose, for the tumultuous companies and riots continued; and once when a proclamation was read in the name of the Lord Protector, requiring every one to depart, some of the rioters were to say, 'What do you tell us of a Protector? Tell us of King Charles.' In the meanwhile the Quakers, so called, were kept in prison, and it plainly appeared that the order against unlawful assemblies was levelled against their meetings; and though the magistrates pretended that they must answer for it to the Protector, if they did let the Quakers alone without disturbing their meetings, which at that time, for the most part were silent, and nothing was spoken, but when now and then one of their ministers from abroad visited them; yet this was not at all agreeable with the Protector's speech he made on the 12th of the month called September, to the parliament, in the painted chamber, where he spoke these words:

'IS not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental? So long as there is liberty for the supreme magistrate, to exercise his conscienc in erecting what form of church government

is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others? Liberty of conscience is a natural right, and he that would have it, ought to give it, having liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed that hath been the vanity of our contests: every sect saith, Give me liberty; but give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to any body else. Where is our ingenuity? Truly that is a thing that ought to be very reciprocal. The magistrate hath his supremacy, and he may settle religion according to his conscience. And I may say to you, I can say it, all the money of the nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have engaged, if they had not had hopes of liberty, better than they had from Episcopacy or than would have been afforded them from a Scottish Presbytery, or an English either, if it had made such steps, or been as sharp and rigid as it threatened when it was first set up. This I say is a fundamental: it ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come.'

Cromwell spoke more in confirmation hereof; and indeed he would have been a brave man, if really he had performed what he asserted with binding arguments. But though now he seemed to disapprove the behaviour of Presbytery, (for then he was for Independency) yet r some time he courted the Presbyterians;

and these fawning upon him from the pulpit, as their preserver and the restorer of the church, he suffered the Quakers to be persecuted under his government, (though he pretended not to know it,) when he might easily have stopped it. But by hearkening to the flatteries of the clergy, at length he lost his credit, even with those who with him had fought for the common liberty; and thus at last befel him after his death, what he seemed to have imprecated on himself in the foregoing speech, if he departed from allowing due liberty. For he farther said, that many of the people had been necessitated to go into the vast hawling wilderness in New England, for the enjoyment of their liberty; and that liberty was a fundamental of the government; adding, that it had cost much blood to have it so, and even the hazarding of all. And in the conclusion he said, that he could sooner be willing to be rolled into his grave, and buried with infamy, than give his consent to the wilful throwing away of that government, so testified unto in the fundamentals of it. Now who knows not what infamy befel him afterwards, when in the reign of king Charles the second, it is said, his corps was digged up, and buried near *the gallows*, as may be farther mentioned in its due place.

But I return now to Bristol, where several were kept in prison still, and no liberty grante

them; nay, they were even charged with what they utterly denied themselves to be guilty of. Among these one John Worring, was accused of having called the priest, Samuel Grimes, a devil: but Worring denied this, though he did not stick to say, he could prove somewhat like it by his own words. And it being asked him, How? He answered, that the priest had said at the meeting, that in all things he did, he sinned; and if in all things, then as well in his preaching, as in other things; and he that sinneth is of the devil. If you will not believe me, believe the Scriptures. It may be easily conjectured that this answer did not please the priests' followers, and therefore Worring and some others were kept in prison: and among these also Elizabeth Marshall, who in the steeple-house, after the priest John Knowls had dismissed the people with what is called the blessing, spoke to him, and said, This is the word of the Lord to thee. I warn thee to repent, and to mind the light of Christ in thy conscience. And when the people, by order of the magistrates then present, violently assaulted her, giving her many blows with staves and cudgels, she cried out, 'The mighty day of the Lord is at hand, wherein he will strike terror on the wicked.' Some time before she spoke also in the steeple-house to the priest Ralph Farmer, after he had ended his sermon and prayer, and said, 'This is th

word of the Lord to thee. Wo, wo, wo from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never sent them.

A good while after this, the magistrates gave out the following warrant:

City of Bristol.

'To all the constables within this city, and to every of them.

"Forasmuch as information hath been given us, that John Camm, and John Audland, two strangers, who were commanded to depart this city, have, in contempt of authority, come into this city again, to the disturbance of the public peace: these are therefore to will and require you forthwith to apprehend them, and bring them before us to be examined, according to law. Given this 22d of January 1654, Signed.

William Cann,	Richard Vickers, Dept.
Joseph Jackson,	Henry Gibbs, [Mayor.
Gabriel Sherman,	John Lock.

Camm and Audland had departed the town before this time, having never been commanded (as the warrant saith) to depart the city, either *by the magistrates* themselves, or by any other *at their command*; though F. Howgill and E. *Burrough had* been required to do so. So th

warrant proving ineffectual, the magistrates caused another to be formed in these words:

City of Bristol.

'To the constables of the peace of the ward of——— and to every of them.

'Forasmuch as information hath been given us upon oath, that certain persons of the Fanciscan orders in Rome, have of late come over into England, and under the notion of Quakers, drawn together several multitudes of people in London; and whereas, certain strangers, going under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgill, and Edward Burrough, and others unknown, have lately resorted to this city, and in like manner, under the notion of Quakers, drawn multitudes of people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances amongst us; and forasmuch as by the said information it appeareth to us to be very probable, and much to be suspected, that the said persons so lately come hither, are some of those that came from Rome, as aforesaid; these are therefore in the name of his highness, the lord protector, to will and require you to make diligent search through your ward for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected persons, and to apprehend and bring them before us, or some of us, to

be examined and dealt with according to law: hereof fail you not. Given the 25th of Jan. 1654. Signed,

John Gunning, Mayor,	William Cann,
Gabriel Sherman,	Joseph Jackson,
Henry Gibs,	John Lock,
George Hellier,	Richard Vickris.
Gabriel Sherman.	

Hereunto these magistrates affixed their seals; and that Alderman Sherman might be sure his name was down, he wrote it twice. How frivolous this pretence of persons of the Franciscan order was, even a child might perceive; for the Quakers were by this time so multiplied in the north of England, that they could no more be looked upon as an unknown people. And as for G. Fox, and James Nayler, they had not yet been at Bristol, and therefore it seemed absurd to seek for them there. But it was thought expedient to brand the Quakers with odious names, that so under the cloke thereof, they might be persecuted as disturbers of the public peace: as appeared when one Thomas Robertson, and Josiah Cole, being at Nicholas' steeple house, and standing both still without speaking a word, until the priest Hazzard had ended, and dismissed the people, were very rudely treated; for Thomas the lifting up his voice, was presently, even wh

the word was yet in his mouth, struck on the head by many, as was also his companion, though he did not attempt to speak. But Thomas, after being a little recovered of a heavy blow, began to speak again, and said to the people, 'Tremble before the Lord, and the word of his holiness.' But this so kindled their anger, that they were both hurried out of the steeple-house, and with great rage driven to the mayor's, who commanded them both to Newgate prison.

Not long after, one Jeremy Hignel, being in his shop attending his calling, was sent for by the mayor and aldermen, to come before them; which he presently doing, the mayor asked him, Whether he knew where he was? he answered, He did. Then the mayor asked, Where,? he replied, In the presence of the Lord. Are you not, said the mayor, in the presence of the Lord's justices? his answer was, If you be the Lord's justices, I am. Whereupon one of the aldermen said, without any more words passing at that time, We see what he is; take him away to Newgate. For since he did not take off his hat, it was concluded he was a Quaker, and this was counted cause enough to send him to prison; and so he was immediately brought thither, where the keeper received him without a mittimus, and kept him close prisoner nineteen days, permitting none to come to him but his wife.

No better was the treatment of Daniel West-

field, who being sent for by the mayor, appeared before him, and alderman Vickris; then the mayor said to him, Wastfield come hither; and he thereupon drawing near, the mayor asked him three several times, What art thou? Though he knew him well enough, having called him by his name, as above said. Wastfield answered, I am a man. But what's thy name? said the mayor. My name is Daniel Wastfield, answered he. Then said the mayor to one of his officers, Take him and carry him to Newgate; further adding, That he came thither to contemn justice: to which Wastfield replied, No, I came hither in obedience to thy order; for the mayor had sent for him, as hath been said. Thus he was carried away without a mittimus, the mayor saying, his word was a mittimus; and he was kept a close prisoner thirty-three days, and none suffered to come to him but his servants, notwithstanding he was a widower, and must now leave his house, and trade to their management; and a child of his died in the meanwhile, and was buried, and he kept from seeing it.

The magistrates having thus begun persecution, became from time to time more vigorous in it, insomuch, that several others were imprisoned, and among these Christopher Birkhead, *who standing still in* Nicholas' steeple-house, *with his hat on,* and being asked by the priest *Ralph Farmer,* What he stood there for; an

swered, "I stand in obedience to the righteous law of God in my conscience; I have neither offended the law of God, nor of the nation. A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land." More he would have spoken, but was stopt with beating and thrusting, and so carried to prison.

Now the magistrates were not a little incited to persecution by the said Farmer; and there being several that were very bold, they did not stick to write sharp letters to him; and his indecent carriage was also told him to his face, by word of mouth, in the steeple-house after sermon; and those who did so, were sent to prison. At length these prisoners were brought to trial; and since it could not be proved that they had transgressed any law, some of the magistrates seemed inclined to set them at liberty, if they would have declared, that they were sorry for what they had done. Among them was also one William Foord, and nothing material being found against him, but that he was one of those called Quakers, he was accused of having kept a stranger at work; which he however esteemed to be lawful, since his trade of wool-combing did not belong to the company of *milliners*, who complained of him. Yet he was *asked, Whether* he was sorry for what he had *done? Which* denying, as well as those who *had reproved* the priests, he that was not guilty

was sent to prison again, as well as those that were pretended to be so. Among these last, was also Sarah Goldsmith, who, from a well-meant zeal to testify against pride, having a coat of sackcloth, and her hair disheveled, with earth or dust strewed on her head, had gone through the city without receiving any considerable harm from the people, because some looked upon her to be crack-brained. There was also one Temperance Hignel, who having said in the steeple-house to the priest, after he had ended his sermon, "Wo from the Lord God to thee Jacob Brint," was presently struck down, and so violently abused, that blood ran down her face, and she being committed to prison, fell sick; and when they saw her life was in danger, she was carried out in a basket, and died three days after. The reason she gave, when in prison, why she spoke in that manner to the priest was, that he had scarce any hearers, but what were swearers, drunkards, strikers, fighters, and railers, &c. And that therefore his ministry was in vain, since he preached for gain; whereas he himself ought to have brought forth good fruits.

How long the others were kept in prison, I do not know certainly; however, it was a pretty long time; for George Bishop, and Dennis Hollister, who formerly had been a member of the parliament, and three others, put all the

transactions in writing at large, and sent it to the magistrates, in hopes that thereby they might see the evil of persecution; but this proving in vain, they gave it out in print five months after, that so every one might know how the Bristollers treated their inhabitants, which was to that degree, that an author said: "Was such a tyrannical iniquity and cruelty ever heard of in this nation? Or would the ministers under King Charles have ventured to do so? Was not Stafford but a mean transgressor in comparison of these?" And though Archbishop Laud was beheaded, yet it could not be proved, that the Episcopalians had persecuted so fiercely, as these pretended assertors of liberty of conscience had done, who being got into possession of the power, did oppress more than those they had driven out. This made the persecuted, some of whom formerly had also fought for the common liberty, the more in earnest against those that were now in authority.

But I will turn away from Bristol towards Norwich, whither Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead were gone. Here it happened, that R. Hubberthorn, having spoken something to a priest in a steeple-house yard, and not having taken off his hat before the magistrates, was imprisoned in the castle, where he was kept great part of the following year, and in the meanwhile writ several epistles of

exhortation to his friends; and his companion G. Whitehead's preaching had such effect, that a meeting of their friends was settled in that city.

But before I go on, it will be convenient to give some account of the quality of these two persons: R. Hubberthorn was born in the north of Lancashire and descended from very honest parents: his father was a yeoman of good reputation among men, and Richard was his only son, and from a youth inclined to piety. Being come to man's estate, he became an officer in the parliament's army, and from a zeal for godliness, preached sometimes to his soldiers. But entering afterwards into the society of the Quakers so called, he left his military employment, and testified publicly against it; for he was now become a soldier under another banner, viz. that of Christ Jesus, Prince of Peace; not fighting as formerly, with the outward sword, but with the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. In his ministry he had an excellent gift, and though not so loud in voice as some others, yet he was a man of a quick understanding, and very edifying in his preaching.

G. Whitehead (who whilst I write this is yet alive, was trained up to learning and though but a youth, instructed others in literature, and continued in that calling sometime after he came to be convinced of that truth which was preache

by the professors of the light; and he strove to bring up children in the fear of the Lord. But before this change, he was a diligent hearer of the world's teachers, and usually frequented the steeple-house at Orton in Westmoreland: yet the singing of David's Psalms became so burdensome to him, that sometimes he could not join therewith; for he saw that David's conditions were not generally suitable to the states of a mixt multitude; and he found himself to be short of what they sung. This consideration brought him into such a strait, that often he durst not sing those Psalms the priest gave their hearers to sing, lest he should have told lies unto God. Now also he began to see that the priests' lives and practices did not agree with their doctrine; for they themselves spoke against pride and covetousness, and yet lived in them. This likewise made him go to hear some that were separated from the national church, and got into a more specious form of godliness: but he soon saw, that though there was a difference in the ceremonial part, and that these had a more true form of words than the priests, yet they were such as ran before they were sent by God, speaking peace to that nature in him, wherein he felt no true peace. And when he was about seventeen years of age, which was in the year 1652, he first heard the doctrine of truth preached by those that were reproachfully

called Quakers; and their testimony wrought so powerfully on his mind, that he received it, and so entered into their communion. Now he found, that to grow up in the true wisdom, and to become wise in the living knowledge of God, he must become a fool to that wisdom, wherein he had been feeding upon the tree of knowledge, having in that state no right to the tree of life: and he continuing in faithfulness, it pleased the Lord to ordain him a minister of the gospel; in which service he acquitted himself well, to the convincing of others, and the edification of the church.

But now leaving him, let us go and see what happened at Oxford in the year 1654. At the latter end of the month called June, there came two women named Elizabeth Heavens, and Elizabeth Fletcher. These spoke in the streets to the people, and in the college they exhorted the scholars, who wickedly requiting their zeal, violently pushed Elizabeth Fletcher against a grave-stone, and then threw her into the grave; and their malice grew to that pitch, that they tied these two women together, and drove them under the pump; and after their being exceedingly wetted with pumping water upon them, they threw them into a miry ditch, through which they dragged Elizabeth Fletcher, who was a young woman, and so cruelly abused her that she was in a painful condition till her deat

which fell out not long after. Some short time after this rude encounter, she and her companion, on a first-day of the week, went into the steeple-house at Oxford, and when the priest had ended, they began to admonish the people to godliness: but two justices present, commanded them to be taken into custody and carried to the prison called Bocardo, where none but felons were used to be lodged. The justices desiring the magistrates to meet on this account, the mayor would not meddle with it; but said, "Let those who have committed them deal with them according to law, if they have transgressed any;" adding, "that he had nothing to say against them; but that he would provide them with victuals, clothes, or money, if they wanted any." Yet he came into the assembly where these women were examined, and whither the vice-chancellor of the University was also required to come, who charged them, That they blasphemed the name of God, and did abuse the Spirit of God, and dishonoured the grace of Christ; and asking them, Whether they did read the Scriptures? they answered, Yea they did. Then they were asked, Whether they were not to be obedient to the power of the magistrate? To which their answer was, They were obedient to the power of God, and to the power that was of God they were subject for conscience-sake. Well, said the vice-chancellor

you profane the word of God, and I fear you know not God, though you so much speak of him. Then the women being made to withdraw, it was concluded that there was matter enough for their commitment and punishment, and agreed that a paper should be drawn up for their being whipped out of the city. When this was done, it was presented to the mayor to set his hand to it; but he refused, and said, He was not willing to do so. Then one of the justices said, That it was the privilege of the city, that if any vagrant was taken within the franchises and liberties thereof, a paper must be drawn up, that such a one, mayor, had committed such and such persons; and that then it was to be sealed with the office seal. But the mayor refused this as well as the other. Which made some say, that if he would not, it should be done by them. And then it was agreed upon, that they should be whipped soundly; which was performed the next morning, though with much unwillingness in the executioner; and the mayor had no hand in it.

But leaving these, I will turn to another, one Barbara Blaugdon, of whom mention hath already been made, that she was one of those that received the *truth*, by the ministry of John Audland and John Camm. She was from her youth inclined to godliness, and her employment was to instruct children. But being entered into t

society of those called Quakers, she became plain, both in speech and habit, and thereupon the children she taught, were taken from her; and, going sometimes into steeple-houses, to bear testimony against their formalities, she was put in prison, and kept there a quarter of a year at a time. Afterwards she led a very severe life, and abstained from all flesh, wine, and beer, drinking only water for the space of a whole year. In the meanwhile she grew up, and prospered in true piety. Once it happened, that coming from a meeting that was at George Bishop's house at Bristol, a rude fellow ran a knife, or some sharp instrument through all her clothes into the side of her belly, which if it had gone but a little farther, might have killed her. Then she went to Marlborough, where, in the steeple-house and other places exhorting people to fear God, she was put into prison for the space of six weeks, and there she fasted several days and nights. When she was released she went to Isaac Burges, the man that committed her, and discoursing with him, he was really convinced of the truth, but could not resolve to take up the cross; yet he was afterwards very loving to her friends, and stood by them upon all occasions, never more persecuting any of them: and coming some time after to Bristol, he went to her house and confessed, that he knew her doctrine was truth, but that

he could not take up the cross to walk in that way. A while after she went into Devonshire to Moulton, Barnstaple, and Biddiford, in all which places a prison was her lot. She went also to him, that after was Earl of Bath, where, being acquainted, she had formerly vainly spent much time, but now she was moved to call this family to leave off their vanity. And she asked to speak with the lady; but one of the servants that knew her, bid her go to the back-door, and their lady would come forth that way to go into the garden. Barbara being come thither, a great mastiff dog was set loose upon her; and he running fiercely, as if to devour her, turned suddenly, and went away crying and halting, whereby she clearly saw the hand of the Lord in it, to preserve her from this danger. The lady then came and stood still, hearing what Barbara spoke, and gave her thanks for her exhortation, yet did not invite her to come in, though she often had been lodged there, and had eaten and drunk at her table.

Then Barbara went to Great Torrington, and, going into the steeple-house, spoke somewhat to the people by way of exhortation; but not having sufficient opportunity to clear herself, went to her lodging, and sat to writing. After noon the constables, came to her, and took away what she had written, and commanded her to go along with them to their worship. To which

she answered, That they would not suffer her to speak there, and that she knew no law that could compel her to go thither twice in a day; and that they all knew she was there in the morning. Being thus unwilling to go, the next day the mayor sent for her; when come she found him moderate, and loth to send her to prison: but the priest being present, was very eager, and said, she ought to be whipped for a vagabond. She then bid him prove where ever she asked any one for a bit of bread; but he said, she had broken the law by speaking in their church; and he so prest the mayor, that at length he made him write a mittimus, and send her to Exeter prison, which was twenty miles distant: there she remained for some time, until the assizes came, but was not brought forth to a trial. And after the sessions were over, she was put to lodge one night among a great company of gipsies, that were there in prison; and the next day the sheriff, came with a beadle, who brought her into a room, where he whipt her till the blood ran down her back, and she never startled at a blow; but sang aloud, and was made to rejoice that she was counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord; which made the beadle say, 'Do ye sing? I will make you cry by and by;' and with that he laid on so hard, that one Ann Speed seeing this, began to weep: but Barbara was strengthened by an

uncommon, and more than human power, so that she afterwards declared, if she had been whipt to death, in the state she then was, she should not have been terrified or dismayed. And the sheriff seeing that all the wrath of man could not move her, bid the fellow leave off striking: and then Ann Speed was suffered to dress her stripes. The next day she was turned out with all the gipsies, and the beadle followed her two miles out of the town: but as soon as he left her, she returned back. and went into the prison to see her friends that were prisoners there, and having visited them, she went home to Bristol.

But by the way coming to Biddiford, she was taken up, and put into the town-hall, and searched to see whether she had either knife or scissors about her. Next day she was brought before the mayor, who discoursing much with her, had a sense of what she spoke to him; and at last he set open two doors, one right against the other, and said, He would give her choice, which she would go out at; whether she would go forth to prison again, or go home.' And she told him, that she would choose liberty rather than bonds. So she went homeward, and then he took his horse and followed; and overtaking her, would have her ride behind him; but when any whom he knew, met them, he would slacken his space; and as soon a

they were past, he came up again to her; which she perceiving, refused to ride behind him; yet he rode three or four miles with her, discoursing all the way: and when they parted, she kneeled down and prayed for him, all which time he was very serious, and afterwards grew very solid and sober. She writ once to him; but not long after, he died.

Being come home, she was moved to go to Basingstoke to endeavour to obtain liberty for two of her friends, viz. Thomas Robinson, and Ambrose Rigg, who were taken up at the first meeting that their friends had had there. But when she came thither the entrance of the prison was denied her. And she having a letter from John Camm to them, put it in at the chink of the door, and when she went to the mayor to desire their liberty; he told her, that if he saw the letter which she brought them, they should have their liberty. She then said, he should see it; and so went and fetcht it; which he having read, told her, That she should have her brethren out; but that he could not let them out presently. Yet it was not long before her friends had their liberty.

Now leaving Barbara for some time, we return to Miles Halhead. In the first month of this present year he was moved to go to Ireland, and declare the word of the Lord there; and speaking this to James Lancaster, and Miles

Bateman, they quickly resolved to keep him company, and so they went for Ireland; where they proclaimed the truth in cities, towns, villages, and before magistrates, as occasion offered; and their testimony was received by many. After they had discharged themselves, they returned to England, where Miles soon found himself moved to go to Scotland. In his way thither, he met his friend James Lancaster, who was very free to go with him; and so they went into Scotland; but were not the first of those called Quakers in that country; for Christopher Fell, George Wilson, and John Grave, had been there before; so that a little church of those of their communion, was already planted in that kingdom, before Halhead went thither: and one Alexander Hamilton had, a year before ever any Quakers appeared in Scotland, erected a meeting at Drumbowy, and also at Heads, and he received their testimony, when they came there, as also his wife Joan, James Gray, James Miller, and others. I find also that Scotland was early visited by Catherine Evans, and Sarah Cheevers, two eminent women, of whom something extraordinary is to be related in its due time.

But I return to J. Lancaster, and Miles Halhead, who being come to Dumfries, went on a first-day of the week into the steeple-house in that town where seeing many people gathered

together, howling and crying, and making great lamentation, as if they had been touched with a sense of their sins; Miles was silent until their worship was done; but then, being grieved with their deceit and hypocrisy, spoke as he was moved, but met with great opposition, many of the people, being in such a rage, that they drove him and his companion out of the town, near to the side of a great river; and it was intended that the women of the great town should stone them; but they prevented this by wading through the river.

Having thus safely passed the water, they went to Edinburgh and Leith, where they staid about ten days. During that time, Miles spoke to the people when occasion offered; as also to the garrisons, and to the captains and officers of the army, who were much affected, and confessed that the Lord had been very good unto them; for Miles's message was, That the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, because they had not performed their promises, which they made to him in the day of their distress, when their enemies encompassed them on every side; for then the Lord delivered them, and gave them victory; but they had returned him evil for good, and committed violence against those he sent to declare his word amongst them. This being told them at large by Miles, he went to Glasgow and Stirling, where he also

spoke as he was moved: and so returned to England.

But before I leave Scotland, I may say, that as the first meetings were held at Drumbowy, and Heads, so it was not long ere meetings were settled also at Garshore, at Edinburgh, and also at Aberdeen. The first Scotch preachers of those called Quakers, I find to have been William Osborn, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton, already mentioned. Of the said Hamilton I may mention a singular instance; after he and his wife, with her and his sister, had separated from the society of the Independents, it happened that Thomas Charters, a teacher of that sect, at Kilbride, not from Drumbowy, seeing that he could not draw Hamilton, and those of his family back again, threatened them with excommunication, and appointed a day for it, giving notice thereof to Hamilton some days beforehand. Hamilton warned him to forbear, or else the anger of God would seize on him. But he answered, "It is but Alexander Hamilton that saith so." To which Hamilton replied in the presence of several witnesses, That it was not only he, but what he said was of the Lord. But Charters persisting in what he intended, and walking two days before the appointed time in the *steeple-house* yard, where his horse was *feeding, stept to* him to stroke him; but the *horse growing* wanton, gave Charters such

violent kick on the side, that he died about the same hour which was appointed by him for the excommunication. Whether this case happened in the year I now describe, I am not certain; but however it was either in, or near it.

This year Miles Halhead came to Berwick in Northumberland, and went to the mayor of that town, and spoke to him in his shop thus; "Friend, hear what the servant of the Lord hath to say unto thee. Give over persecuting the Lord's servants, whom he doth send in love to this town of Berwick, to shew you the way that leads to life eternal. I charge thee, O man, touch not the Lord's anointed, nor do his prophets any harm, lest thou procure the anger of the living, eternal God against thee." This bold language so offended the mayor, that he sent Miles to prison, where he was about ten weeks, and then was brought to the sessions, where a bill, drawn up against him, was read in open court; but he denied the contents thereof, yet said, "But what I said to the mayor of this town I will not deny." And then he related the aforesaid words he spoke to the mayor. Whereupon the Recorder said, "Sirs, as I understand by his own words, if he cannot prove the mayor of the town a persecutor, in my judgment he hath wronged him." To this Miles answered, "If the mayor of this town of Berwick, dare say in the presence of the Lord, whose presence

is here, that he is no persecutor, but the persecuting nature is slain in him, I will be willing to abide the judgment of the court." Then the clerk of the court said, "Mr. Mayor, if you will say that you are no persecutor, but the persecuting nature is slain in you, he is willing to abide the judgment of the court." To this the mayor answered, "I know not what to do; I would I had never seen him; I pray you, let him go, and let us be no more troubled with him." Then Miles said, that he would prove this mayor of Berwick the greatest persecutor in town or country. "I was once (thus he went on) committed to prison in this town before, by some of the justices that are now in this court; but thou O man hast exceeded them all; thou hast committed me, and kept me in close prison for about ten weeks, for speaking to thy own person, in thy own shop. Now I make my appeal to the recorder of this town of Berwick, as I am a free-born Englishman, whether my imprisonment be legal, according to the law of this nation or not?" Then the recorder of the town stood up and said, "It is not very legal for any minister of the law, to imprison any man in his own cause." Then the court cried, "Take him away." The chief priest of the town then stood, *and desired* the court that he might ask *Miles one question*: to this Miles said, "The

Lord knows thy heart, O man, and at this present has revealed thy thoughts to his servant; and therefore now I know thy heart also, thou high priest, and the question thou wouldst ask me: and if thou wilt promise me before the court that if I tell thee the question thou wouldst ask me; thou wilt deal plainly with me, I will not only tell thee thy query, but I will answer it.' Then the priest said, He would. Then Miles proceeded; Thy question is this; Thou wouldst know whether I own that Christ that died at Jerusalem, or not? At this the priest wondering, "Truly that is the question." Then Miles said, "According to my promise I will answer it before this court; in the presence of the Lord God of heaven, I own no other Christ than him that died at Jerusalem, and made a good confession before Pontius Pilate, to be the light and way that leads fallen man out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore.' More questions were not asked him, but the jailor was commanded to take him away. Yet within a short time, the court gave orders to release him. Then going to Newcastle, he returned to his wife and children at Mount-joy, where we will leave him for some time, and in the meantime return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Synderhill-green; he travelled up and down in Yorkshire, as far as Holderness, visiting his friends, and finding the churches in a

flourishing state. To relate all his occurrences there, would be beyond my pale.

Passing then through the counties, he went to Lincolnshire, and to the meeting where he was, came the sheriff of Lincoln, who made great contention for a time: but at length the power of truth so reached him, that he was convinced of the truth, as were several others also that did oppose.

Whilst G. Fox was in this county, the church of his friends increased, and many received the doctrine preached by him, and amongst these, was one Sir Richard Wrey, with his brother, and brother's wife, who both continued stedfast till they died; but Sir Richard found this way so narrow, that he afterwards ran out; for persecution in time fell so fast on those called Quakers, that none could abide in their society, but such as were willing to hazard all.

G. Fox now went into Derbyshire, and the abovesaid sheriff of Lincoln travelling with him, they came into Nottinghamshire, and so into the Peak country, where having a meeting at Thomas Hammersly's, several ranters came and opposed him; and when he reproved them for swearing, they said, "Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph swore." But though G. Fox did not deny *this, yet he said,* "Christ, (who said before *Abraham was, I AM,*) saith, swear not at all *And Christ ends* the prophets, as also the

priesthood, and the dispensation of Moses; and he reigns over the house of Jacob, and of Joseph, and saith, swear not at all. And God, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, saith, "And let all the angels of God worship him," to wit, Jesus Christ, who saith, swear not at all. And as for the plea that men make for swearing to end their strife, Christ, who says, swear not at all,destroys the devil and his works, who is the author of strife; for that is one of his works. And God said, this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him. So the Son is to be heard, who forbids swearing; and the apostle James, who did hear the Son of God, and followed him, and preached him, forbids all oaths." Thus G. Fox prevailed, and many were convinced that day. It is remarkable that Thomas Hammersly being summoned upon a Jury, was permitted to serve without an oath; and when he, being foreman brought in the verdict, the judge did declare, That he had been a judge so many years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that the Quaker had then brought in.

G. Fox travelling on, came to Swanington, in Leicestershire, where there was a general meeting, to which many of his friends came from several parts, and among these, J. Audland, and F. Howgil, from Bristol; and E. Burrough from London. After this, G. Fox came to Twy

Cross, and some ranters there sang and danced before him; but he reproved them so earnestly, that some of them were reached, and became modest and sober.

Then he went to Drayton, his birth place, to visit his relations; where Nathaniel Stevens the priest, having gotten another priest, sent for him. G. Fox having been three years abroad, knew nothing of their design, but at last went to the steeple-house yard, where the two priests had gathered abundance of people; and they would have had him gone into the steeple-house; but he asked them, what he should do there? And it was answered him, Mr. Stevens could not bear the cold. At which G. Fox said "He may bear it as well as I." At last they went into a great hall, R. Farnsworth being with him, where they entered into a dispute with the priests, concerning their practice, how contrary it was to Christ and his apostles. The priests asked, Where tithes were forbidden, or ended? Whereupon G. Fox, shewed them out of the Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. vii. that not only tithes but the priesthood, that took tithes was ended; and that the law was ended and disannulled, by which the priesthood was made, and tithes were commanded to be paid. Moreover, he knowing Stevens's condition, laid open his manner of preaching, shewing, that he, like the rest of the priests did apply the promises to the first birth

which must die; whereas the promises were to the seed not to many seeds, but to the one seed, Christ, who was one in male and female; for all were to be born again, before they could enter into the kingdom of God. Then Stevens said, that he must not judge so. But G. Fox told him, he that was spiritual judged all things. Stevens confessed, that this was a full scripture: but "Neighbours," said he, "This is the business; G. Fox is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to put out my star-light." To this G. Fox returned, that he would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his star-light, if it were true star-light from the morning-star; but that if he had any thing from Christ, or God, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching; seeing Christ commanded his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. But Stevens said, he would not yield to that.

This dispute being broken off for that time, was taken up again a week after by eight priests, in the presence of many people; and when they saw that G. Fox remained unshaken, they fawningly said, "What might he have been, if it had not been for the Quakers!" Afterwards the dispute was resumed in the steeple-house yard, where G. Fox shewed, by abundance of Scriptures, that they who preached for wages, were false prophets, and hirelings; and that

such who would not preach without wages, or tithes did not serve the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies. This he treated on so largely, that a professor said, "George, what! wilt thou never have done?" To this his answer was, that he should have done shortly. And when he broke off, one of the priests said, they would read the Scriptures he had quoted. "With all my heart" said he; then they began to read Jer. xxiii. and when they had read a verse or two, George said, "Take notice people." But the priests cried, "Hold thy tongue, George." He then bid them read the whole chapter throughout; but they, stopping asked him a question; and he told them, that if the matter he charged them with, was first granted, then he would answer their question; for his charge had been, that they were false prophets and false teachers, such as the true prophets, Christ, and his apostles cried out against. "Nay,' said a professor to that; but he said "Yes; for you, leaving the matter, and going to another thing, seem to consent to the proof of the former charge." Now their question was, seeing those false prophets were adulterated, whether he did judge priest Stevens an adulterer. To this he anwered, that he was adulterated from God in his practice, *like those false* prophets.

Then they broke up the meeting, and Stevens *desired that G. Fox*, with his father and mother,

might go aside with him, that he might speak to him in private. George, though his relations yielded to it, was very loath to do so; yet that it might not be said he was disobedient to his parents, he went; but many of the people being willing to hear, drew close to them. Then Stevens said; if he was out of the way, George should pray for him; and if George was out of the way, he would pray for him; moreover, that he would give to George a form of words to pray by. To this G. Fox replied, "It seems thou dost not know, whether thou art in the right way or no; but I know that I am in the everlasting way, Christ Jesus, which thou art out of; and thou wouldst give me a form of words to pray by, and yet thou deniest the common prayer book to pray by, as well as I. If thou would have me to pray for thee by a form of words, is not this to deny the apostles' doctrine and practice of praying by the Spirit as it gave them utterance?" Here, though some of the people fell a laughing, yet others who were grave and sober, were convinced of the truth, and the priests were greatly shaken; insomuch, that George's father, though he was a hearer and follower of the priest, was so well satisfied, that, striking his cane upon the ground, he said, "*Truly I see, he* that will but stand to the truth, *it will carry him* out."

G. Fox did not stay long at Drayton, but

went to Leicester, and from thence to Whetstone, where a meeting was to be kept; but before it began, there came about seventeen troopers, of Colonel Hacker's regiment, who taking him up brought him to the said colonel, where there were also his major and captains. Here he entered into a long discourse with them, about the priests, and about meetings; for at this time there was a noise of a plot against Cromwell; and he spoke also much concerning the light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. The colonel hearing him speak thus, asked whether it was the light of Christ, that made Judas betray his Master, and afterwards led him to hang himself? G. Fox told him, "No; that was the spirit of darkness which hated Christ, and his light." Then the colonel said to George, he might go home, and keep at home, and not go abroad to meetings. But he told him, he was an innocent man, free from plots, and he denied all such works. Then the colonel's son, Needham, said, "Father, this man hath reigned too long; it is time to have him cut off." G. Fox asked him, "For what? What have I done, or whom have I wronged from a child; and who can accuse me of any evil? Then the colonel asked him if he would go home, and stay there. To which G. Fox answered that if he should promise him so, it would imply, that he was guilty of somethin

to go home and make his home a prison to himself; and if he went to meetings, they would say, he broke their order; but that he should go to meetings, as the Lord should order him; and that therefore he could not submit to their requirings: and having further added that he and his friends were a peaceable people; the colonel said, "Well then, I will send you tomorrow morning by six o'clock to my lord Protector, by captain Drury, one of his life-guard. The next morning, about the appointed time, he was delivered to captain Drury. Then G. Fox desired, he would let him speak with the colonel, before he went; and so the captain brought him to the colonel's bed side, who again bad him go home and keep no more meetings. But G. Fox told him he could not submit to that; but must have his liberty to serve God, and go to meetings. "Then," said the colonel, "You must go before the Protector." Whereupon G. Fox kneeled on his bed side, and prayed the Lord to forgive him: since according to his judgment he was as Pilate, though he would wash his hands; (for he was stirred up and set on by the priests) and therefore George bad him, when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, then to remember what he had said to him. Far was it now from Needham, who would have had G. Fox cut off, to think at one time this would befal his father in an

ignominious manner at Tyburn. But what afterwards happened, when he was condemned as one of the judges of king Charles the first, will be related in its due place.

G. Fox having left colonel Hacker, was carried by captain Drury to London: where the captain went to give the Protector an account of him; and coming again, he told G. Fox, the Protector did require, that he should promise, not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government, as it then was; and that he should write this in what words he saw good and set his hand to it. G. Fox considering this, next morning writ a paper to the Protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwell, wherein he did in the presence of God declare, that he denied the drawing or wearing of a carnal sword or any outward weapon, against him, or any man; and that he was sent of God to be a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness: and to turn people from the darkness to the light, and to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting, to the peaceable gospel; and from being evil-doers, which the magistrate's sword should be a terror to. Having writ this, he set his name to it, and gave it to captain Drury, who delivered it to Oliver Cromwell; and after some time returning to the Mermaid, near Charing-cross, where G. Fox was lodged, he carried him to Whitehall, an

brought him before the Protector, who was no yet dressed, it being pretty early in the morning G. Fox coming in, said, "Peace be in this house." and bid the Protector keep in the fear of God that he might receive wisdom from him; tha by it he might be ordered and with it might order all things under his hands to God's glory He had also much discourse with him concerning religion, wherein Cromwell carried himsel very moderately, but said that G. Fox and hi friends, quarrelled with the ministers, meanin his teachers. G. Fox told him, he did no quarrel with them; but they quarrelled wit him, and his friends. "But (thus continue he) if we own the prophets, Christ, and th apostles, we cannot uphold such teachers, prophets and shepherds, as the prophets, Christ and the apostles declared against: but we mus declare against them by the same power an spirit." Moreover, he shewed, that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles preached freely and declared against them that did not declar freely, but preached for filthy lucre, and divine for money, or preached for hire, being covetou and greedy, like the dumb dogs, that could nev er have enough; and that they that had th same spirit, which Christ, the prophets, and th apostles had, could not but declare against al *such now*, as they did then. He also said, tha *all Christendom* (so called) had the Scriptures

but they wanted the power and spirit, which they had who gave them forth; and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the Scriptures, nor with one another. Whilst he was thus speaking, Cromwell several times said, it was very good, and it was truth. G. Fox had many more words with him; but seeing the people coming in, he drew a little back; and as he was turning, Cromwell caught him by the hand and with tears in his eyes, said, "Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to another:" adding, that he wished him no more ill than he did to his own soul. To this G. Fox returned, that if he did, he wronged his own soul; and bid him hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in his counsel, and obey it; and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. This so reached the Protector, that he said it was true.

Then G. Fox went out; and captain Drury, following, told him, that the lord protector said, he was at liberty, and might go whither he would: yet he was brought into a great hall, where the protector's gentlemen were to dine; and he asked, what they did bring him thither for? They told him, it was by the protector's

order, that he might dine with them. But George bid them tell the protector, he would not eat a bit of his bread, nor drink a sup of his drink. When Cromwell heard this, he said, 'Now I see, there is a people risen, and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people, I can.' But it was told him again, that the Quakers had forsaken their own, and were not likely to look for such things from him.

It was very remarkable that captain Drury, who, while G. Fox was under his custody, would often scoff at him, because of the nickname of Quakers, which the Independents had first given to the professors of the light, afterwards came to him, and told him, that as he was lying on his bed to rest himself in the day-time, a sudden trembling seized on him, that his joints knocked together, and his body shook so, that he could not rise from his bed; he was so shaken, that he had not strength enough left to rise. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him, and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said, he would never speak against the Quakers more, viz. such as trembled at the word of God.

The particular occurrences that befel G. Fox, when he was at liberty in London, I pass by. He had great meetings there, and the throngs of the people were such, that he could

hardly get to and from the meetings, because of the crowd. In the mean while the number of his friends increased exceedingly, and some belonging to Cromwell's court were also convinced of the truth preached by him. He wrote about that time several papers, one of which was against pride, gaudy apparel, and the world's fashion.

I do not find that about this time there was at London any persecution from the magistrates, but in other places there was: and it was in this year that Anne, the wife of John Audland, coming into a steeple-house at Banbury, said, after the priest had ended, that those that were without the doctrine of Christ, though they said, the Lord liveth, yet spoke falsely, according to Jer. v. 2. For this she was imprisoned as guilty of blasphemy, and two boys swore against her, that she had said, that the Lord did not live. Thus false accusations prevailed, and at this rate persecution was cloaked.

The year drew now to an end, and Cromwell concluded a peace with the United Netherlands; to get things the more clear at home, it seems he endeavoured to remove troubles abroad. And there being a rumour spread of a plot, as hath been hinted already, to be the more assured of the parliament, he caused a guard *to be set* upon the door of the house,

to keep out those members that refused to sign a paper, whereby they promised to be faithful to the lord Protector, and to make no alteration in the government, so as it was settled, on a single person, and a parliament. But several of the members would not sign this paper, saying, that it was a violation of the privileges of the parliament, and a depriving them of their liberty; and therefore they were kept out; but others who subscribed the said paper, were admitted. Yet this assembly not acting to the satisfaction of Cromwell, he dissolved them after a session of five months. The young king Charles, who lived in exile, had left France, and was come to Cologne on the Rhine, where he stayed for some time.

But I return to London, where we left G. Fox. He was in that city continually at work, discharging his duty every where, both with mouth and pen, suffering no time to be lost. There being commissioners appointed for the trying of ministers, he writ a paper to them, wherein he advised them, to see whether they were not such whom the prophets, Christ, and the apostles disproved; and who would admire their persons because of advantage, &c. He stayed at London till the year 1655; and after having cleared himself, he went to Bedfordshire, and came to the house of John Crook, a *justice of peace*, where there was a great meet-

ing, and many were convinced of the truth he declared, of which number John Crook also was one; but for this he was soon turned out from being a justice.

Whilst G. Fox was in Bedfordshire, there was also Alexander Parker, one of the early ministers among those called Quakers. But leaving them there, I now intend to speak of William Caton, who, as it hath been said already, was one of the family of judge Fell. When he was but about fourteen years of age, his father procured leave for him to dwell in the said family; and his behaviour was so pleasing, that he was allowed the judge's son as a companion night and day; he ate as he did, and went with him a hunting, shooting, and fishing, partaking of the same pleasure with him in every thing, and living in ease and plenty; so that he had cause of joy, that Providence had cast his lot into such a noted family; for not only judge Fell, but also his wife Margaret, and their daughters, were well qualified. W. Caton conversing with such choice company, grew up in piety, and was very zealous in performing his private devotions, staying often in the bedchamber, till the judge's son, his bed-fellow, was gone down, that so he might the more freely pour out his heart before God in prayer. Having attained to the age of fifteen years, he was *very diligent, when* he had been at a lecture, to

write down the chief heads thereof; for such of the family as could make repetitions of sermons, and paraphrase thereupon, were held in esteem. But William Caton found that what he reaped thereby, could not satisfy the hunger and thirst of his immortal soul.

After he, and the judge's son, had for some time learned Latin together, in the family, where there was a priest that instructed them, they were moved to a school at Hawkshead; but here he found company which he disliked more than that in the judge's family.

It was in the year 1652, about Midsummer, that G. Fox, (as hath been said in its proper place) first came to the house of judge Fell at Swarthmore. His non-conformity to the ordinary salutations, W. Caton not a little wondered at; but yet it did not hinder him from giving due attention to the doctrine G. Fox preached, which in substance was, to give heed to the light, which Christ Jesus had enlightened us withal, and which shining in our hearts, convinceth us of sin and evil. This so reached W. Caton, that in due time he began to be subject to this inward convincement, by which he came to be much restrained in his carriage, and could not allow himself so great liberty as he was wont to do; for though he was no ways extravagant, yet now he saw that a true Christian *must be weaned* from all vanity; and that the

common diversions of youth displeased God. This he clearly perceived, for the witness of God had awakened and reproved him of that which was contrary to true gravity, and sobriety of mind. He had not yet left the school: but (though he was pretty much advanced in his learning) the making of Latin verses became a burden to him, because he could not give his thoughts that liberty for invention as others did; neither could he well any longer give to the master of the school the complement of the hat, as he was used to do: this I had from his own mouth. One may easily guess that hereby he was brought into a straight: but Margaret Fell, seeing that he longed to be freed from the school, caused him to stay at home, where he was employed by her in writing, and teaching her children. And when he was about seventeen years of age, he became more and more strengthened in the spiritual warfare, and his heart was often filled with joy, because of the mercy and loving-kindness of the Lord to him.

Thus advancing in godliness, he was frequently moved to go to the places of public worship, and also to markets, to warn people to repentance; but then beating and buffeting was his share, and because of his youth he was despised by many; yet he fainted not: and esteeming it his duty now to labour in the ministry of the gospel, *he desired to* be discharged of his ser-

vice. Judge Fell was very unwilling to part with him; but Margaret his wife, though she could not well give him up before, yet believing that the Lord required his service, not only freely resigned him, but also prevailed with her husband to let him go: for he did not desire his liberty to serve other men, but to enter into the service of the Lord, and to proclaim the everlasting gospel. About the end of the year 1654, being eighteen years of age, he took his leave of that family, which was not done without mutual shedding of tears at parting.

He then went to visit his friends in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Warwickshire; from thence to Norwich, and so to Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire; where he found an opportunity to declare the truth of God in the steeple-house. After that he travelled to Cambridge, visiting his friends there; and then returned to Norwich, where he visited his friends in prison, and had great meetings in that city. Then he went to London, where he was very kindly received by those of the household of faith; and on a first-day of the week was at two steeple-houses, at one of which he had large liberty to speak, being indeed persuasive in speech; and in the afternoon, at a meeting of dissenters from the public worship, he had liberty to publish truth without opposition, or

contradiction from any; and many were added to the faith.

At that time there were twelve ministering brethren, most of them, come out of the north of England, among whom was John Stubbs, already mentioned, with whom he travelled into Kent; and coming to Dover, where they were altogether strangers, not knowing any body in the town, they took their lodging at an inn. J. Stubbs went on the first-day of the week to a meeting of the Baptists, and W. Caton to the steeple-house, where he had but little liberty; but in the yard he had more opportunity to clear his conscience to the people. In the afternoon he went up to the castle, where the Independents performed their worship. Shortly after, he and J. Stubbs went into the Baptists meeting, unto which much people resorted, and began to be affected with their testimony, and adhered to it. This made such a stir, that they were haled before the magistrates, who examined them, and ordered that none should entertain them on a certain penalty; whereupon they were turned out of their lodging. But one Luke Howard, a shoemaker, who had already heard W. Caton at London, and afterwards at Dover, in the steeple-house yard, though he little regarded him at London, but said to his companion, 'I know more than he can tell me, or *more than I* or he is able to live up to;' yet

now he became so affected with W. Caton's testimony, that he invited him and J. Stubbs to his house, where he entertained them; and not long after they had a meeting there; and he heard the testimony of his guests with no less satisfaction, than Agrippa of old did the speech of the apostle Paul, when he said to him, 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian:' For Luke Howard was not yet come so far that he could resolve to conform himself with the Quakers, so called; but yet, such was his love to them, that when the mayor of the town sent four constables to his house, with an order to deliver them up, that so they might be carried out of the town, he refused to do so, relying on his right as a freeman of the corporation; and the doors being shut, kept the constables out of his house, and told them from the shop window, that the mayor had no lawful authority, to have these men haled out of his house, and sent out of town, there being no hue and cry come after them. They staid yet some days in his house, and he became so strengthened by their ministry, that he joined with them in profession, and also gave up his house to be a meeting-place for their friends.

Then W. Caton and J. Stubbs departed the town, and went to Folkstone, and from thence to Hithe, in both which places they found opportunity to preach the truth. After some

stay, they went to Romney, and so to Lydd. Here it was, that Samuel Fisher, both by their ministry, and by that of Ambrose Rigg, and Thomas Robinson, (who now were also gone forth in the service of the gospel) was convinced, and brought over to their society.

He was trained up to literature, and had studied diligently in the university; and though but young then, yet was of a pious conversation, and disliked many ceremonies and customs usual in the schools. When he had finished his course there, he was ordained a priest of the church; and a certain great man took him to be his chaplain; and afterwards he got a living at Lydd, worth about two hundred pounds a year. But after having been thus employed some time, he came to see that infant baptism was an human institution, and to preach for wages unlawful. To this may be added, that Luke Howard, some time before he knew the Quakers, so called, not being satisfied concerning the singing of David's psalms at the public worship, so troubled his master that he had been apprentice with, that he got Samuel Fisher, as a learned minister, to come and discourse with him, and to try to convince him: and S. Fisher talking with him, L. Howard told him, that God was a spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and truth, of all those that *would worship* him acceptably. And also

that it was contrary to truth, for a proud man to sing: he was not puffed in mind, he had no scornful eye, and he did not exercise himself in things that were too high; when he lived in pride, wherein God beheld him afar off. And farther, that it was very unbecoming such an one to sing, "Rivers of tears run down mine eyes, because other men keep not thy laws," when he never knew, a true sorrow and repentance for his own sins. This reason of Howard's, against the customary singing in their worship, had so much influence upon S. Fisher, that from that time he was stopped from any more giving David's conditions to the people to sing; and becoming in time more and more uneasy to go on in acting what was burdensome to his conscience, he resolved to desist from his ministry, and so went to the bishop, and delivered up the commission that he had received from him to preach: and casting himself upon God's providence, he took a farm, and turned grazier, by which means he maintained his wife and children much better to his content than before.

Departing thus from the Episcopalian church, he went over to the Baptists, and became a zealous teacher among them. It was about this time, that W. Caton, and J. Stubbs came to Lydd, whom S. Fisher received into his house, *remembering* that Scripture exhortation, "Be *not forgetful to* entertain strangers, for many

thereby have entertained angels unawares." W. Caton went to the meeting of the Independents, and Stubbs to that of the Baptists, where Fisher then preached; and J. Stubbs having got opportunity to speak, declared truth so plainly, that S. Fisher being very much affected with it, began to paraphrase upon it with excellency of speech. W. Caton and J. Stubbs departing this place, went to another town in this country, but not long after returning to Lydd, they found S. Fisher, in fellowship with themselves; for it happened that his fellow-teacher, George Hammond: in his sermon, so violently inveighed against those called Quakers, that S. Fisher could not be satisfied until he stood up in the said meeting, and bore a public testimony against the revilings of Hammond: saying to him, 'Dear brother, you are very dear and near to me, but the truth is nearer and dearer: it is the everlasting truth and gospel which they hold forth.' And speaking more words to that effect, he openly defended the doctrine of the reviled Quakers. This so vexed Hammond, that falling into a greater rage, he said, 'Our brother Fisher is also bewitched.' But Fisher rendered not reviling for reviling, but continued with patience in the faith. This was he who afterwards writ a book, called Rusticus ad Academicos, wherein he often encountered the priests with their own

weapons; for he was very dexterous at that, and so well versed in the ancient poets, that he now and then with their words, gave home blows to his adversaries, allowing himself sometimes the freedom of the prophet Elijah against the prophets of Baal. He writ also a paper in Hebrew to the Jews, in which language he was well skilled. But before I say more of him, I return to W. Caton and J. Stubbs. They went from Lydd to Ashford, Tenterden, Cranbrook, and Staplehurst, where they found an open and tender-hearted people, who embraced their doctrine, and some would have given them money, nay, even have forced it upon them, yet they would not take any: but as they freely had received, so they freely gave. Telling people, it was not theirs, but them, which they sought. Thence they travelled to Maidstone, where J. Stubbs went to the public place of worship, and W. Caton to the meeting of the Independents. J. Stubbs was taken at the steeple-house, and W. Caton, the day following, from his inn, and were both sent to the house of correction, where they were searched, and their money, inkhorns, and bibles, &c. taken from them. Afterwards they were stripped, and their necks and arms put in the stocks, and in that condition were desperately whipped. A hard encounter indeed, especially for such a *oung man as W.* Caton was; but they were

supported by an invisible hand. Afterwards means were used to compel them to work; and it was told them, he that would not work, should not eat. But they were not free to consent thereto, because they esteemed this demand unjust, not being guilty of the breach of any law. Thus they were kept without victuals for some days, only a little water once a day was allowed them. In the mean-while, the malefactors that were there, would have given them of their bread; yea, the women of the house being moved with compassion, would have given them something privately; but they were not free to accept of either. Now the report of this cruelty being spread in the town, many began to be offended at it; so that an officer was sent to make restitution of some of their things, which had been taken from them, and then they bought victuals with their own money. Not long after, they were parted, and with officers conveyed out of the town, one at the one end of it, and the other at the other.

At length W. Caton came to London, where he found his companion J. Stubbs; but being there, it came upon them to return to the town from whence they came, which was no small rial to them; but yet they resigned, and gave p to what they believed to be the will of the ord. Now Providence so ordered it, that

none meddled with them, though they, to be more fully seen, went on a first-day of the week to the steeple-house. They went also to Canterbury, where, at the meetings of the Baptists and Independents, they had pretty good liberty to declare the truth amongst them; and some being convinced, received their testimony. They were likewise at Sandwich, where W. Caton had some service among the Dutch people at their steeple-houses.

It was now nigh Midsummer, when he felt a motion to go over to Calais, in France; for that end he went to Dover, and so to Calais, where coming to their high place of worship, his spirit was very much grieved and burdened, with the great idolatry in vogue there; for he saw how some were worshipping before their dumb idols, and he could not well ease his spirit for want of the language. Having some time walked about in the town, he came to be known to some of the chief of the city, who desiring to speak with him, some of them came down in person to the quay, to look for him; and understanding he was abroad, he was called ashore, and conveyed to a large house, where several of the great ones were come to see and hear him; so that he had a very good opportunity to declare the truth among them, there being a Scotch lord who interpreted for him. And after he

had cleared his conscience, they suffered him to depart quietly.

Soon after he returned for England, and found his companion, J. Stubbs at Dover; and it being upon him to go for Holland, W. Caton was made free to accompany him. With this intent they went together to Yarmouth, but could not find passage there for Holland, and so they passed farther to the north; and coming to Swarthmore, W. Caton found his friends very glad to see him, especially Margaret Fell, who had been as a nursing mother to him. After some stay there, having been abundantly refreshed, they went to Shields, where they heard of a ship bound for Flanders; but having little inclination to go thither, came soon after to Yarmouth, where they found a ship intended for Flushing, in Zealand. In this vessel they went over, and arrived safely at the said town. And on the first day of the week, they went to the congregation of the English and Scotch, where many wondered at them because of their nonconformity; and after they began to speak, there arose a great stir, so that they were soon hurried out. The same day they went to Middleburgh, whither being come before the afternoon's worship, was ended, one of them began to speak after the priest had done; but he stopped him gently, thinking at first they were such as were there begging; but perceiving the contrar

he and the others were the more violent. After that, he sent for them to his house, and reasoned awhile with them; but he being of a lofty mind, they found but a slight entertainment there. After a short stay in town, they embarked for Rotterdam, in Holland, where having come, when they had been some few days in the city, they got a meeting at an English merchant's house; but he that interpreted for them, not rendering their words truly, it seemed not to satisfy the hearers. After some time they returned to Zealand, and from thence again to England, where being arrived,

W. Caton journeyed to Swarthmore, and was received there with joy; and having some drawings to Scotland, he went to Durham, where he found his companion J. Stubbs again, with whom he travelled towards Scotland. It was about the beginning of the month called December, when they came to Berwick upon Tweed, where W. Caton went into the great public assembly; and when the priest had done stept up upon a seat, and beginning to speak, none seemed to make such haste to get away, as the priest; in the mean-while W. Caton spake with great boldness, and had pretty good liberty to declare the truth. But when he had done, he was taken hold of, and brought before the magistrates, who ordered that he should be turned out of the town; which was done. J. Stubbs

was that day in a meeting of the Baptists, and had some service there. Not long after, W. Caton, who wandering up and down, could not well get any lodging for his money, returned, and came into the town again, the guard suffering him very freely to pass.

Then they both travelled to Edinburgh in Scotland, where they found things somewhat out of order, through the unfaithfulness of some that were convinced of the truth; but their ministry was so effectual among them, that they were brought into better order again; and so they edified the church according to their ability, the meeting being kept at the house of William Osburn who had been a lieutenant-colonel, and afterwards became a zealous minister of the flock there. While W. Caton was there, he went once to the chief steeple-house, where after the priest had done, he spake to the people; but, the multitude combining, he was not suffered to say much, but was carried out; and coming into the street, there was a guard of soldiers, who conducted him with drawn swords to the places where he desired to be. He was about that time also with general Monk, who behaved himself moderately, and heard him. J. Stubbs now returning to England, W. Caton went to Stirling, where being carried to the governor, he was at first high, but when W. Caton, who was a man of meek behaviour,

had spoke a little to him, he became cool and sedate. He then went to the English chaplain's house who was kind to him. From Edinburgh he went to Glasgow, where going into the great cathedral, after the service was done, he had some liberty to speak to the multitude in the yard, the rude people being kept under by the English soldiers, who were moderate, so that he had very good service there. He also went to Douglas, where his service was no less, both in the steeple-house and elsewhere: so that having cleared himself in Scotland, he returned to England, and came again to Swarthmore, where he was received as formerly, in very great love.

Leaving him there, I turn again to George Fox, whom we left in Bedfordshire. From thence he went from London into Kent, and came to Romney, not long after W. Caton and J. Stubbs had been there. Here he had a very large meeting, whither Samuel Fisher also came and there was a great convincement that day, so that many were turned to the light of Christ: and after the meeting, S. Fisher's wife said, "Now we may discern between flesh and spirit, and distinguish spiritual teaching from fleshly."

From hence G. Fox went to Dover and Canterbury, and farther into Sussex and so to Reading, where they had a great meeting, and many were convinced that day. There came also

George Bishop of Bristol, who being a captain, then wore a sword, though in time he entirely left it off.

G. Fox going from hence, passed up to London, where leaving him for some time, we will go and behold the life and occurrences of James Parnel, who was born at Retford in Nottinghamshire, and trained up in the schools of literature. He laboured very early in the ministry of the gospel, having been convinced by G. Fox, when not quite sixteen years of age; and then embraced the truth, though for that reason despised and rejected by his relations. He was (though of low stature) endued with great ability, and did not fear, wherever he came, to call people to repentance. Being imprisoned at Cambridge for his zealous testimony, and afterward turned out of town like a vagabond, he soon came back, and disputed with the scholars of the University; but met with rude and bad entertainment from them. In the beginning of this year he came into Essex, being then about eighteen years of age, and preached the gospel in several parts of that county, as Felsted, Stebbing, Witham, Coggeshall, Halsted, and other places, and many received the word by his ministry. About the middle of the summer he came to Colchester, and there preached the gospel on a first day of

the week in a steeple-house, after the sermon; then in a great meeting appointed on purpose, and after that, disputed with the town-lecturer, and another priest, in the French school, all in one day; so that many were convinced of the truth preached by him; and among these also Stephen Crisp, of whom more will be said hereafter. J. Parnel spent that week in the said town, preaching, exhorting, and disputing, to the convincing of many; though others were enraged, insomuch, that his godly zeal was often rewarded with blows; as once coming out of Nicholas steeple-house, he was struck by one with a great staff, who said, "There, take that for Christ's sake." To which he meekly answered, "Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake." Many other grievous affronts he bore, without shewing any heat or anger; so that he was a real pattern of patience and meekness.

Having laboured in the gospel about ten days in Colchester, he went to Coggeshall, where a fast was proclaimed, to be held upon the 12th of the month called July, to pray against the errors of the people called Quakers. J. Parnel being come thither, went into the steeple-house, where he stood still, till the priest was coming out of the pulpit. Now since this priest——Sammes, who was an Independent, had cried out fiercely against the Qua-

kers, as deceivers, J. Parnel esteemed it his duty to say something to that; and the first words he spoke were, 'This is the order of the true Church, that all may speak one by one; and if any thing be revealed to him that stands by, let the first hold his peace.' Then he spoke on in behalf of those called Quakers: but the priest interrupting, asked what he would object against him? To which J. Parnel answered, In that he reviled the people called Quakers, and said, they were built upon a sandy foundation, and so called them Shakers. But, said he, I will prove their foundation not to be sandy, and thee to be a false prophet. After some more words spoken by him, some accused him, That he owned no Church: to which he said, It was false. Then it was asked him, What Church he owned? And he answered, The Church in God. Then priest Willis stood up, and said, he spoke nothing but nonsense. Parnel bad him, name one word which he had spoken that was nonsense. At which Willis said, To say, the Church in God. Then Parnel took out his bible, and read 1 Thes. i. 1. where the apostle writes to the Church, which is in God the Father. The priest now was at a loss, and Parnel told him, That he blasphemed, in saying, the Church in God was nonsense. Then priest Stellum stood up, and accused Parnel of lies and slanders, and not

suffering him to clear himself from those accusations, he got up into the pulpit, and began to pray; but Parnel not taking off his hat, the magistrates called him to put it off. To which he returned, "Order the priest to put off his cap;" and farther said, before he should be subject to their wills, he would rather pass out of the meeting-place; and so he went out.

Not long after, Justice Dionysius Wakering followed him, and struck him with his hand upon his back, saying, he arrested him in the name of the lord protector. Parnel not knowing him to be a magistrate, asked him where his writ was. Wakering said he had one; but shewed none. Then Parnel was hurried into an house, and some of his friends engaged, that he should be forthcoming when their worship was done. And accordingly he appeared where four justices, and six or seven priests where met together. Then Justice Wakering pulled his hat off his head, and threw it away; and they questioned him concerning many things: all which he answered, with many frivolous questions asked to ensnare him. At last he was committed to the common gaol at Colchester, where none of his friends were suffered to come to him. The time of the sessions at Chelmsford being come, he, with several felons and murderers was fastened to a chain, and thus

led about eighteen miles through the country, remaining chained both night and day.

Being brought into the court before Judge Hills, the jailor took off his hat and cast it upon the floor. Then the clerk read his indictment, and asked him if he was guilty? To which he said, that he denied all guilt; and he called for his accusers. The judge said, he might see them; and that he ought to say guilty, or not guilty. Then a jury of twelve men was called, whose foreman was a drunkard: Priest Willis was also called, who swore against him, and so did two justices; one of their men swearing, that they would speak nothing against him but the truth. The accusations were, that in a riotous manner he did enter into the parish church at Great Coggeshall; that he there did stand up, and told the minister, he blasphemed, and spoke falsely, using many other reproachful words against him: and he could not give a good account where he was last settled, or of his life and conversation, appearing to be an idle person. He was also accused with contempt of the magistracy and of the ministry. To this he answered, That he no ways in a riotous manner entered the steeple-house, but came thither quietly, and alone: for being followed by several boys that would have come in after him, he bade them go in before, rather than to go in *disorderly*, whereby to occasion

any disturbance. That he had said to Priest Willis,he blasphemed, by saying, the Church in God was nonsense, he denied not; but did not own himself to be a vagabond and idle person. And he did not think it indecent to call an unjust judge, unrighteous; a persecutor, persecutor; and a deceiver, deceiver. Thus Parnel pleaded his cause. Yet the judge said to the jury, that if they did not find him guilty, the sin would lie upon their heads; thus condemning the prisoner before the jury had considered the case. Then J. Parnel began to speak, to inform them concerning his cause, but the judge would not suffer him, though one of the jury desired it. After consultation, the jury had nothing to lay to his charge, but a paper in which he had answered the mittimus, though he had already owned this paper to be his writing. But in that they were at a loss, because in the indictment he was accused of a riot: Yet the judge and the clerk strove to draw some words from the foreman, which the other jurymen did not consent to, and he himself was unwilling to answer fully to their questions. Then J. Parnel was made to withdraw; and being called in again, the judge fined him to the value of about forty pounds, for contempt of the magistracy and ministry; for he said, the lord Protector *had charged* him to punish such persons as *should contemn* either magistracy or ministry.

Thereupon J. Parnel was carried back again to the prison, being an old ruinous castle, built as it is reported, in the time of the ancient Romans: here he was to be kept until the fine should be paid; and the jailor was commanded, not to let any giddy-headed people, (by which denomination they meant his friends) come at him.

The jailor was willing enough to comply with this order, suffering none to come to him, but such as abused him; and his wife, who was a wicked shrew, did not only set her man to beat him, but several times herself laid violent hands on him, and swore, she would have his blood: she also set other prisoners to take away the victuals brought to him by his friends; and would not let him have a trundle bed, which they would have brought him to lie on, so that he was forced to lie on the cold and damp stones. Afterwards he was put into the hole in the wall, a room much like a baker's oven; for the walls of that building, which is indeed a direful nest, are of an excessive thickness, as I have seen myself, having been in the hole where this pious young man ended his days, as will be said by and by. Being confined in the said hole, which was, as I remember, about twelve feet high from the ground, and the ladder too short by six feet; he must climb up and down by a rope on a broken wall, which he was forced to do to *fetch his* victuals, or for other necessi-

ties: for though his friends would have given him a cord and a basket to draw up his victuals in, yet such was the malice of his keepers, that they would not suffer it.

Continuing in this moist hole, his limbs grew benumbed; and thus it once happened, that as he was climbing up the ladder, with his victuals in one hand, and come to the top thereof, catching at the rope with his other, he missed the same, and fell down upon the stones, whereby he was exceedingly wounded in his head, and his body so bruised, that he was taken up for dead. Then they put him into a hole underneath the other; for there were two rows of such vaulted holes in the wall. This hole was called the oven, and so little, that some bakers' ovens were bigger, though not so high. Here (the door being shut) was scarcely any air, there being no window or hole. And after he was a little recovered from his fall, they would not suffer him to take the air, though he was almost spent for want of breath: and though some of his friends, viz. William Talcot, and Edward Grant, did offer their bond of forty pounds to the justice Henry Barrington, and another, whose name was Thomas Shortland, to lie body for body, that Parnel might but have liberty to come to W. Talcot's house and return, when recovered; yet this was denied; *nay, so immoveable* were they set against him, that

when it was desired that he might only walk a little sometimes in the yard, they would not grant it by any means: and once the door of the hole being open, and he coming forth, and walking in a narrow yard between two high walls, it so incensed the jailor, that he locked up the hole, and shut him out in the yard all night, being in the coldest time of the winter. This hard imprisonment did so weaken him, that after ten or eleven months he fell sick, and died. At his departure there was with him Thomas Shortland, and Ann Langley: and it was one of these (that came often to him) who long after brought me into this hole where he died.

Several things which are related here, I had from the mouth of eye-witnesses, who lived in that town. When death approached, he said, "Here I die innocently." A little after he was heard to say, "Now I must go;" And turning his head to Thomas, he said, "This death I must die, I have seen great things; don't hold me, but let me go." Then he said again. "Will you hold me?" To which Ann answered, "No dear heart, we will not hold thee." He had often said that one hour's sleep would cure him of all; and the last words he was heard to say, were, "Now I go;" and then stretched out himself, and slept about an hour, and breathed his last. Thus this valiant soldier of the Lamb *conquered through* sufferings; and so great

were the envy and malice of his persecutors, that to cover their guilt and shame, they spread among the people, that by immoderate fasting, and afterwards with too greedy eating, he had shortened his days. But this was a wicked lie; for though it be true he had no appetite to eat some days before he fell sick, yet when he began to eat again, he took nothing but a little milk, as was declared by credible witnesses. During his imprisonment he wrote several edifying epistles to his friends.

By continuing this relation without breaking off, I am advanced somewhat as to time; but going back a little, let us see the transactions of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil. It was in the year 1655, that they went together to Ireland, where they came in the summer, and staid nearly six months, having spent in Dublin about three months, without being disturbed, though they omitted no opportunity to declare the doctrine of truth. Henry Cromwell, son of the protector, was at that time lord deputy of Ireland; and it was in his name that they were carried from Cork, (whither they were gone) to Dublin; for since several received their testimony, and adhered to the doctrine they preached, it was resolved, not to let them stay any longer in Ireland. Here it was, as I have been told, that William Ames, by their ministry, was *brought over* into the society of the Quakers,

so called. He was a Baptist teacher, and also a military officer, who being of a strict life himself, kept his soldiers under a severe discipline. I remember he used to tell us, that when any soldiers under his colours had been guilty of any immorality on a first day of the week, he presently had him bound neck and heels. But being now entered into the society of the despised Quakers, and in process of time becoming a minister among them, it was not long before he was cast into prison; of whom more may be said hereafter.

Now E. Burrough and F. Howgil were banished out of Ireland; but on the same day that they were sent away, Barbara Blaugdon arrived there. She went from England in a vessel bound for Cork, but by foul weather carried to Dublin. When the tempest was high, the seamen said that she being a Quaker was the cause of it, and they conspired to throw her over board.

Aware of this plot, she told the master what his men designed to do, and said, that if he did suffer this, her blood would be required at his hands. So he charged them not to meddle with her. The storm continuing, and it being on a first day of the week, she went upon deck, feeling herself moved to speak to the seamen by way of exhortation, and to pray for them; for their priest, afraid like the rest, could not say any *thing* among them. Having spoken

what was upon her, she concluded with a prayer; and all the ship's crew was very quiet and sedate, saying, that they were more beholden to her than to their priest, because she prayed for them; and he, for fear could not open his mouth to speak. At length they arrived safe at Dublin, without damage, which indeed was strange, and made the master say, that he was never in such a storm without receiving any loss.

Barbara going ashore, went to the house of the deputy; but the people told her, there was for her no speaking with him; for she might know that he had banished two of her friends out of the nation the day before. Then she met with the secretary, and desired him to help her to speak with the deputy. He answered, that he did not think he could; then she told him, that if he would be so civil, as to go up and tell the deputy, that there was a woman below that would speak with him; if he refused, she was answered. So the secretary went up; and there came a man to fetch her into the drawing-room; and after she had been there awhile, a person came out of the deputy's chamber, and all that accompanied him stood bare-headed (for they knew she never saw the deputy) but she had a sense it was a priest, who shewed himself covered to deceive her: and the room being almost full of people, they asked her, why

she did not give her message to their lord. To which she answered, "When I see your lord, then I shall give my message to him." A little after the deputy came forth, and sate down on a couch: she then stood up, and speaking to him what was upon her mind, bade him beware that he was not found fighting against God, in opposing the truth, and persecuting the innocent; but, likewise Gamaliel, to let them alone; for if it was of God, it would stand; but if of man, it would fall. Farther, that the enmity did not lie so much in himself, but he was stirred up to it by evil magistrates, and bad priests; and that God's people were as dear to him now, as ever; and they that touched them touched the apple of his eye. In the meanwhile, in his name, and by his power, there was much hurt done to the people of God, all over the nation, and it would at last lie heavy upon him. Moreover, that the teachers of the people did cause them to err, and that he knew the priests' condition. She touching upon that the deputy said to the priest that stood by, "There's for you Mr. Harrison:" and she spoke with such power, that it made the deputy much concerned: and when she had done, he asked the priest what he had to say to that which she spoke? And he said, it was all very true, and very good, and he had nothing to say against it, if she did speak as she mean'

Then she told the priest, that the Spirit of God was true, and did speak as it meant, and meant as it spoke; but that men of corrupt minds did pervert the Scriptures, by putting their own imaginations and conceivings upon it, and so did deceive the people: but the holy men of God wrote, and gave forth the Scriptures, as they were inspired of the Holy Ghost; and that they were of no private interpretation; and could not be understood but by the same spirit that gave them forth.

After having thus spoken, she went away, and returned to her lodging, which was at one captain Rich's house, who coming home, said, that the deputy was so sad and melancholy, after she had been with him, that he could not go to bowls, or to any other pastime.

Barbara having now performed her service at Dublin, went to Cork, where she had some relations and acquaintance; but great were her sufferings thereabout; for she was imprisoned almost wherever she came, being moved to follow those of her acquaintance, into several steeple-houses; yet wherever her mouth was opened, there were some who received her testimony. Once she was made to speak in a market-place, where a butcher swore he would cleave her head; and having lifted up his cleaver to do it, there came a woman behind him, and *catching his* arms, stopt him, till the soldiers

came and rescued Barbara. Many of her acquaintance, with whom she formerly had been very conversant, were now afraid of her; for sometimes she spoke so awfully to them in their houses, that it made them tremble; and some said she was a witch; and, running away, their servants turned her out of doors. After having been there some time, she returned home to Bristol; but it was not very long ere she was moved to go to Ireland again; and being come near Dungarvan, the ship foundered near the shore: the master and the passengers got into the boat, save one man and a woman, who were cast away; and Barbara, who was still in the cabin, was almost stifled by waves that beat in upon her; yet at length she got upon the deck. The master in the mean-while being come ashore, called to her, that if she would leap down, he and another would venture to come into the water to save her. Accordingly they came up to their necks, and she leaping down, they caught her; but being entangled in the ropes in leaping down, she was drawn from them again: but presently a wave came rolling, and beat the ship outward, which was their preservation; for if it had beaten inward, it might have killed them all three; she was thus caught again, and drawn to shore. Then she went to Dublin, where coming into the court *of justice*, she spoke to the judges,

and exhorted them to righteousness. But this was taken so ill, that she was put into prison, where she lay upon straw on the ground, and when it rained, the wet and filth of the house of office ran in under her. Being arraigned at the bar, she was required to plead, guilty, or not guilty. She answered, that there was no guilt upon any one's conscience for what was done in obedience to the Lord God. But she not answering in that form of words they bid her, she was sent back to prison again, where she suffered much. In the mean-while there happened a singular instance, which I cannot pass by with silence.

At that time there was in prison an innkeeper, with his family, being accused of a murder: now the brother of him that was either murdered, or lost, could not enjoy some land, except he could prove that his brother was dead; and in order thereto, he brought a fellow into the prison, who said, he would prove that the man was killed at such an inn, and buried under a wall: and he accused the innkeeper and his wife, their man and maid, and a smith, to be guilty of this murder; they being already in prison. Barbara having heard of this, found means to go to this desperate fellow; and asked him, how he could conceal this murder so long, when he was, according to law, as guilty of it as any of them, if what he said were true. At

this question he trembled so exceedingly, that his knees struck one against another; and he confessed, that he never before saw the people with his eyes, nor ever was at the place in his life, nor knew any thing of it, but only he was drawn in by the man that was to have the land, and was persuaded to witness the fact. Other prisoners heard this confession also, and Barbara sent to the deputy, desiring him to send down his priest, that he might hear the said confession. The priest came, and the fellow confessed the same to him as he had done to Barbara; and he once also confessed the same before the judge. But afterwards he ate his words; for the man that had induced him, came every day, and made him drink plentifully, and also caused the jailor to lock up Barbara, that she might not come to him. Then she wrote to the innkeeper, and his wife, and man, and judge Pepes, and told him, the day of his death did draw nigh, wherein he must give an account of his actions; and that therefore he ought to take heed, that he did not condemn innocent people, having but one witness, in whose mouth so many lies were found, the others all saying, they were innocent. For all that, the judge went on, and condemned all the accused, and the accuser also, as conscious to the crime. Hereupon a priest came to speak with the maid that *was condemned*, and was in the same prison

with Barbara, but she would not see him, saying, "Nay, he can do me no good; I have done with man for ever: but God, thou knowest that I am innocent of what they lay to my charge." But, however, they were all hanged, and the witness first, probably for fear he should have made another confession, after he had seen the others hanged.

Now some friends of Barbara, viz. Sir William King, Colonel Fare, and the Lady Brown, hearing she was in prison, came to see her, and afterwards went to the afore-mentioned judge, to get her released: but when they came to him, he told them, that he was afraid of his life. At which they laughed, and said they had known her from a child, and there was no harm in her at all. And being all very earnest to get her liberty, they at last obtained it. Then she went to the steeple-house where this judge was, and cleared herself of him. He being come home, went to bed, and died that night. The noise of which sudden death being spread, it made the people say, that Barbara had been a true prophetess unto him.

She now went to Limerick, where she was put into prison, but after a while being released, she took shipping for England again; and at sea was robbed of all that she had, by a privateer, who coming on board, took the master away, until he should pay them a sum of money,

for the ship and goods; but she came safe to England. She travelled at her own charge, paying for what she had.

But leaving her, I will return to Miles Halhead, who as he was following the plough, in the beginning of this year, felt a motion to go to London. Taking York and Hull in his way, and passing thence through Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, he came to the city of London, from whence, after some stay, he went to Bristol with Thomas Salthouse, and so to Exeter and Plymouth, where he suffered much persecution, and was imprisoned. He writ about that time a letter to his wife, which I think worth while to insert here, and was as followeth.

Anne Halhead,

My dear heart, my dear love in the bowels of love, in the Lord Jesus Christ, salutes thee and my children. My soul, my soul is poured forth in love to thee daily, and the breathings of my soul to my Father is for thee, that thou mayest be kept in the fear of the Lord, and in his counsel daily, so that thou mayest come to rest and peace, that is laid up for all that fear him, and walk in obedience to the light that Jesus Christ hath enlightened them withal. So my dear heart, I declare to thee, in the presence of the living God, who is Lord of heaven and earth, and before men and angels, there is no

other way that leads to peace, and eternal rest, but walking in obedience to the light that comes from Jesus Christ; and of this light thou hast received a measure. Therefore my dear heart, be faithful to the Lord in what is made known unto thee, that thou mayest come to witness true peace and rest, that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what is laid up for all them that fear him. So, my dear heart, as I have found peace and eternal rest to my soul from the Lord, so I am moved of the Lord in love to thy soul, to shew thee the way that leads to peace and eternal rest; which way is Christ, who is the light, and the way that leads to the father, from whence all light comes; and of this light which comes from Christ, I bear record thou hast received a measure. Therefore in dear love I exhort thee to walk in obedience to thy measure, which thou hast received from the Lord. So in the presence of the Lord God do I declare, that walking in obedience to this Light that comes from Christ, is the way that leads to eternal rest and peace. Therefore as thou tenderest the eternal good of thy soul, be faithful to the light that comes from Christ, which light beareth witness against lying, and swearing, and vain talking, and all manner of evil. So, my dear wife, in bowels of dear love to thy soul, *which is more* precious than all the world, have

I shewed thee the way; if thou wilt walk in it, it will lead thee into the eternal covenant of life and peace. So, my dear wife, in love, in love I have cleared my conscience to thee, in the presence of the living God, as a true and faithful husband to thee, desiring thy eternal good and welfare as my own, the Lord God is my witness. Dear wife, remember my dear love to all my friends and countrymen, according to the flesh; for I desire the eternal good and welfare of you all, and that you all may come to believe in the light in your own consciences, which Jesus Christ hath enlightened you with; which light bears witness against lying, and swearing, and all manner of evil. This is the light of Christ, and walking in obedience to this light is the way that leads out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore: and he that acts contrary to this light in his own conscience, it is his condemnation. Now, dear friends, while you have time prize it.

Thy husband, and a lover of thy soul,

Wiltshire the 7th of the 3d month, 1655. Miles Halhead

This year also he writ the following epistle to his fellow-believers.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

In the north of England, even to the south, the land of our nativity, whom the Lord God of

heaven and earth hath called and chosen in this the day of his eternal, everlasting love, to serve him in truth, and in righteousness, who have received the Lord's truth in the love of it, not only to believe in his name, but to suffer bonds and imprisonments, and hard sentences for the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. Dear friends, and beloved brethren, my prayers to the Lord God of heaven and earth, and my soul's desire is for you all, that you may all dwell together as children of one father, in the eternal bond of love, and oneness of the spirit; that you may all grow in the eternal living truth of God, to be established upon the rock and sure foundation, that the gates of hell and death cannot prevail against you; that under the shadow of the wings of the Almighty, you may all be kept and preserved in peace and rest, now in the day of trial, and hour of darkness, when hell hath opened her mouth, and the raging sea cast out her proud waves, even like to overthrow the banks; glory, glory, and eternal living praises be given to the Lord God, and to the Lamb for evermore, from all the children of the light, who hath a resting-place for all his dear ones, lambs, and babes, and children of light to flee into, in the needful time of trouble, where none can make them afraid, nor take away their peace, as they abide faithful to him, *who is our way,* our light, our life, our strength,

and eternal portion for ever. My dear friends and brethren, I beseech you in the bowels of dear and tender love, that you walk as dear children, faithful to him who hath called you with an honourable calling, and loved you from the beginning with an everlasting love, that all your friends and neighbours, and men of this world, that see your life coupled with fear, may be made to confess and acknowledge, to the honour and glory of the living Lord, that the God whom we serve and fear, is the only true God of Israel: and herein you become a precious savour unto the living eternal God, and a sweet smelling savour unto all the children of light, and no good thing will the Lord God withhold from you; the mouth of the Lord God of Hosts hath spoken it, whose promises are Yea and Amen to his own seed for evermore.

Miles Halhead.

Given forth the 14th of the 6th month, 1655, when I was a prisoner at the priosn-house in the city of Exeter, in Devonshire, for the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God.

A chief cause why he was imprisoned there, was, that Thomas Salthouse, with whom he travelled, (having heard that one George Brooks, a priest belonging to the Nightingale frigate, said, after the declarations of M. Halhead, and

T. Salthouse, at Plymouth, that it was the eternal truth which they had spoken, with many other words in vindication of what they said) told Brooks, that he had spoken many good words, and fair speeches; but asked him whether he lived the life of what he spoke? Farther "He that entereth not by the door, but climbeth up some other way, is, as Christ said, a thief and a robber." For T. Salthouse thought, and that not without reason, as will be shewn by and by, that he did not want the praises of this priest, that were not better than those of the damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, which she spoke concerning Paul and Silas, viz. "These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation." Now what T. Salthouse had spoken to the priest, was called provoking language; the rather, because when the priest was speaking of the Trinity, T. Salthouse had asked him, where that word was to be found in the Scriptures; saying farther, "I know of no such scripture that speaks of the three persons in the Trinity; but the three that the Scripture speaks of, are the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. From hence T. Salthouse, and M. Halhead, were accused as such as denied the Holy Three that are One. But because about this accusation, *they were* at a loss in the court, something else *was thought of* to ensnare them, viz. they were

required to take the oath of abjuration of the Pope. This oath the mayor of Plymouth had already tendered them, when they were first apprehended; and they refusing to swear, were sent to Exeter prison; and now being brought to trial, and the said oath required of them, they answered thus:

"In the presence of the eternal God, and before all this people, we do deny, with as much detestation as any of you do, the Pope, and his supremacy, and the purgatory, and all that is in the form of the oath mentioned, we declare freely against; and we do not deny to swear because of any guilt that is upon us, but in obedience to the command of Christ, who saith, 'Swear not at all;' and we will not come under the condemnation of an oath, for the liberty of the outward man."

Thus refusing to swear, merely that they might not offend against the command of our Saviour, they were sent back to prison again, as such as clandestinely adhered to the Pope; and use had been made of this snare during the space of many years, to vex the Quakers, so called. The next day the prisoners were brought again before the Bench, and were asked:

"Will ye confess that ye wronged G. Brooks, in calling him thief, and be sorry for it, and make him satisfaction?"

To this *Miles* Halhead answered,

"One of us did not speak one word to him, therefore I deny to make him c satisfation, or to be sorry for it; and what was spoken was no such thing; therefore we will not lie for our liberty, nor confess that we are sorry for that which we never spoke."

Then the court fined them five pounds a piece and they were to go to the house of correction till payment, and to find sureties for their good behaviour: and for refusing to take the oath, the court threatened to send into the north to seize on their estates. So they were returned to prison; and what follows, was entered as the record of their proceedings.

"July 10, 1655. Thomas Salthouse, and Miles Halhead, for provoking words against G. Brooks, clerk, who refused to be tried by the country, fined £.5 a piece, committed to Bridewell till payment, and finding sureties for their good behaviour."

What is said here of refusing to be tried by the country, was a notorious untruth; and as to finding sureties, that seemed of little moment; for though the giving security had been offered before, when they were taken prisoners, yet that was not accepted; and the mayor John Page had the boldness to assert, that they refused to give security, as will appear by the warrant by which he sent them to the common gaol

in Exeter, whereof the following is a true copy.

"Devon,

John Page, merchant, mayor of the borough of Plymouth, in the county aforesaid, and one of his highness's justices of the peace within the said borough to the keeper of his highness's gaol at Exon castle, or to his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting. I send you herewithal by a bearer hereof, the bodies of Thomas Salthouse, late of Dragglibeck, in the county of Lancashire, husbandman: and Miles Halhead, late of Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, lately apprehended here, as disturbers of the public peace, and for divers other high misdemeanors against a late proclamation, prohibiting the disturbing of ministers and other Christians in their assemblies and meetings, and against an ordinance of his said highness, the lord protector, and his counsel, lately made against duels, challenges, and all provocations thereto, who have refused to give sufficient security for their personal appearance at the next general sessions of the peace, to be held for the county of Devon; and in the mean time to be of good behaviour towards his highness the lord protector, and all his liege people. These are therefore in his said highness's name, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Thomas *Salthouse* and Miles Halhead, shall be

unto you brought, you them safely detain, and keep them, until by due course of law they shall be thence delivered: hereof fail not at your peril. Given under my hand, and seal of Plymouth aforesaid, the 28th day of May, in the year of our Lord God, 1655."

John Page, mayor.

By this may be seen under what frivolous pretences those called Quakers were imprisoned, viz. because of an ordinance made against duels, &c. and as for their having refused to give security, how untrue this was, as well as other accusations, may appear from the following certificate.

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do testify, that the several particulars in an answer made by our friends, are true, to wit. That they did not at all disturb the public peace, nor were they at any other meeting (but that which was appointed by us) to disturb any ministers, or other Christians in their assemblies and meetings: nor were they guilty of any challenges, duels and provocations thereunto, in the least measure, whilst they were amongst us. And as for their refusal to give security, two of us, whose names are Robert Cary and Arthur *Cotton*, had given security to the mayor, by *entering into* recognizance for their appearance

at the next sessions, the day before their sending to prison, but that the town-clerk made it void the next day, pretending it could not be according to law.

Ralph Fogg,	Thomas Faulkener,
Arthur Cotton,	Nicholas Cole,
Robert Cary,	John Martindale,
Richard Smith,	Richard Lepincote,
Anthony Todde,	John Harris, sen.
John Harris, jun.	

Not to what a heighth of confidence the aforesaid mayor, Page, was come in saying, that Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead had refused to give bail, and, that this was the cause of their confinement, may also appear from the following letter he writ to General Desborough, to excuse his proceedings against him.

Plymouth, June 1, 1655.

Right Honourable,

Captain Hatsell hath communicated to me what you wrote him in reference to those two men, Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, of whom, and of their imprisonment, your honour had heard something from some persons of this place, and received a copy of a letter which they sent me. By the enclosed copies of their examinations, your honour will see some part of the cause of their confinement, which was on their refusal to *give bail* for their appearance at the

next general sessions, to be held for the county of Devon; they being, as I conceive, offenders within the late ordinance of his highness the lord protector and council, made against duels, challenges, and all provocations thereunto, and also his highness's late proclamation against Quakers; and they still refusing to give bail for their appearance as aforesaid, went from hence to the jail at Exon on Tuesday last. Indeed, sir, there carriage here was not becoming men, much less Christians; and besides their contempt of authority, all the while they were in prison, they never sought God by prayer at any time, nor desired a blessing on any creature they received, or gave thanks for them. And these very men were about two months past taken up by Colonel Cuppleston, high sheriff of our county, and after fourteen days restraint, were sent away by him for Taunton, from tithing to tithing, as by their own examination; and they shew no occasion they have to come to these parts. They are by profession Quakers, but husbandmen by their calling: one of them is a Lancashire man, the other of Westmoreland; and they left their families, relations, and callings about three months since, as they say, and do not work, nor employ themselves in their calling, to procure themselves a livelihood, but wander up and down in all parts, to vent *their wicked* opinions, and discover their irreg-

ular practices in the breach of peace, and disturbance of good people. Indeed, sir, they hold many sad opinions, destructive to the true religion, and the power of godliness. I have hereby, according to my duty, given your honour an account of what passed here in reference to these men. I could say much more in reference to their examination and discourse with them; but I fear I have already trespassed upon your honour's patience in the persual of these lines, and humbly desiring your excuse for giving you this trouble, do most thankfully acknowledge your honour's continued favours to this place, for which we stand very much obliged, desiring your honour still to retain such an opinion of us, as those that desire to do nothing unbecoming Christians, and persons that desire the welfare and peace of this commonwealth and goverment, and shall ever labour to appear

Your honour's very humble Servant,
(For myself and my Brethren)
John Page, mayor.

That General Desborough was but little satisfied with this letter, seems not improbable, because enquiring into the matter, he let others have a copy of it, so that Thomas and Miles wrote an answer to it; and it was also some time after given out in public print in London, by Giles Calvert, with other writings relating

thereunto. Now as to what is said in this letter of his highness's proclamation against Quakers, it was a gross untruth; for in the proclamation the Quakers were not named; but it was against the disturbing of Christians in their assemblies; and besides, the Quakers, so called, judged that their public worship was permitted them by the 37th article of the instrument of government, which said, "That all that profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall not be restrained from, but be protected in the profession of the faith, and exercise of their religion, &c. As concerning their contempt of authority the mayor charged them with, it was nothing else, but that for conscience sake they could not take off their hats to the magistrates; neither did they give that honour to any other but God alone. And as to what was said, that all the while they were in prison, they never sought God by prayer, &c. this was no other matter, than that they did not follow the formal way of prayers; for they were indeed religious men, who often prayed to God, and gave him thanks, though they were represented in the letter as very wicked men, and vagabonds that had left their calling, and wandered up and down the country; although it was well known that they were honest men, that travelled on horseback, lying *at the best* inns on the road, and paying for *what they* received there. And therefore after

they had got a copy of the said letter, they writ a large letter to the mayor, Page, and shewed him his abominable untruths, and told him, that they had been moved several times in prison, as well as out of prison, to go to prayers, and to give thanks for the blessings of God which they received. And in the conclusion of their letter, they signified, that they would not render railing for railing; but (said they) in the spirit of love and meekness we exhort you all to repent, and fear to offend the Lord, &c.

Now as concerning the provoking words against George Brooks, for which they had been fined, it hath been said already what they were; but this Brooks was of a dissolute life and a debauched fellow, having for his drunkenness not only been turned out of the frigates in which he had served, but also once in the ship Nightingale, ignominiously exposed with a quarter can about his neck, as appears by the following testimonies.

"I having been formerly desired to relate upon what account it was that Mr. George Brooks, chaplain of the frigate under my command was put on shore. First, because he was a busy body, and disturbed the whole ship's company. Secondly, being on shore, it was his common practice to abuse the creature in such sort, that he was drunken, void of good reason,

that he would abuse any one that came in his company, by ill language, besides the abuse of himself and the good creature, daily complaints coming unto me both aboard and on shore. Therefore knowing him to be a debauched fellow, and not fit for that employment, I put him on shore, and I dare own it, whoever shall call me to question. Witness my hand,

"Robert Vessay."

Mr. Brooks being formerly with me in the Nightingale, I found him to be very idle, and continually drunk, which once made me to put a quarter can about his neck; whereunto I subscribe

John Jeffery, captain of the Nantwich.

The person above mentioned I have seen drunk on shore, in testimony whereof I have set my hand,

Richard Potter,
Captain of the Constant Warwick frigate.

From such evidences as these it appears, that it was not without reason that he and the like priests sometimes were treated a little roughly. But to return to M. Halhead; he continued prisoner many months before he was released.

In the mean-while it happened that George *Whitehead*, Richard Clayton, and John Harwood, *coming* on the 30th of the month called

July, to Bures in Suffolk, were imprisoned on this occasion. R. Clayton had set up a paper on the steeple-house door, containing these queries.

"Whether by setting up such ministers as seek for their gain from their quarters, such as the prophet disapproves; Isaiah lvi. 11. such as the prophet Jeremiah disapproves; Jer. v. and of whom mention is made also Ezek. xxxiv. and Mic. iii. such as are called of men, masters, loving the chief places in the assemblies; such as Christ disapproved; Matt. xxiii. such as the apostle Peter disapproves, 2 Pet. ii. and which the apostle Paul disapproved also; Phil. iii. or when such were set up that would not suffer another to speak that stands by, when any thing is revealed, but sent him to prison; whether this was not the setting up a persecuting spirit, limiting the Spirit of God, and despising prophecies, not daring to try all things; Whether it was expedient to give to scoffers, scorners, drunkards, swearers, and persecutors, David's conditions to sing? And if such were set up that took tithes, though the apostle said that the priesthood was changed, and the law also, Heb. vii. Whether by the setting up of such, they did not set up such as did not labour in the Lord's vineyard?

This paper being set up, people came to read it. G. *Whitehead* being there, and laying hold

of this opportunity, spoke a few words to the people, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord from the vanities and wickedness they lived in. And when G. Whitehead and his fellow-travellers were passing away, there came a constable who staid them, and carried them before Herbert Pelham, justice of peace. He asking several vain questions, and behaving himself rudely, G. Whitehead began to speak to him concerning his rage: but Pelham said, he did not send for him to preach. And not being able to lay the transgression of any law to their charge, he sent them, by the constable, to Thomas Walgrave justice of peace at Smalbridge in Suffolk. Being come into his house, Richard Clayton was first examined, of his name, and country, and where he had been. The same and some other frivolous questions were asked of G. Whitehead. Then Walgrave asked John Harwood, if he would answer him all the questions he should demand of him: but J. Harwood refused to be limited thus to do his will. Justice Pelham now being come thither also, J. Harwood told Justice Walgrave, that Pelham who had before examined him, had his examination in writing. Then the two justices consulted together what to do in the case; and not long after Thomas Walgrave asked G. Whitehead, *if he would* work at hay? But he denied to be *bound to* such task-masters, as being in that

calling whereunto God had called him, and wherein he was chargeable to no man. The conclusion of their consultation was, that they caused R. Clayton to be whipped under pretence of having fastened a seditious paper to the steeple-house door; and the other two were imprisoned.

It was about this time that William Dewsbury, and several others of his friends were put into prison at Northampton. It happened that he being at Wellingborough, and going along the streets, the priest, Thomas Andrews, called to him in these words, "Give over deceiving the people, lest the plagues of God fall on thee." To this Dewsbury returned, "Dost thou say I deceive the people? Make it manifest wherein I deceive them." Then Andrews said, "Thou sayest there is not any original sin," To this Dewsbury replied, "Didst thou hear me say so?" But the priest unwilling to answer that question, went away. Afterwards Dewsbury went into the steeple-house in the said town, and after the sermon was done, he demanded of the priest that he would prove there before the people, what he had openly accused him of, viz. that he had said there was no original sin. Yet the priest would not answer, but went away. There was also information given, that Dewsbury had said, "The priests preach for hire, and the *people love to* have it so: but what will

ye do in the end thereof? But that this was really so, I do not find.

Dewsbury then being committed to prison, and kept there above half a year, was at last brought to his trial at Northampton, with other prisoners, his friends; and being set to the bar, the judge,——Atkins, said to the jailor, "Do you use to bring prisoners before the court in this manner? You deserve to be fined ten pounds for bringing them before the court covered." The jailor answered, "If you command me, I will take off their hats." To which the judge gave command, and the jailor's man took them off. Then the judge said to Dewsbury, "What art thou here for?" Dewsbury answered, "The mittimus will express what I was committed for; but a copy of it I am denied by the keeper of the jail." The next query of the judge was, "What is thy name?" And the answer was, "Unknown to the world." Let us hear, said the judge, what name that is that the world knows not." It is, quoth Dewsbury, known in the light, and none can know it, but he that hath it; but the name the world knows me by, is William Dewsbury. Then said the judge, "What countryman art thou?" Dewsbury answered, "Of the land of Canaan." "That's far off," replied the judge. Nay, said Dewsbury; for all that dwell in God, are in the holy city, New Jerusalem, which comes down from

heaven, where the soul is in rest, and enjoys the love of God in Jesus Christ, in whom the union is with the Father of light. To this the Judge returned, "That is true, but are you ashamed of your country? Is it a disparagement for you to be born in England?" Nay, said Dewsbury, I am free to declare that my natural birth was in Yorkshire, nine miles from York, towards Hull." Then the judge said, "You pretend to be extraordinary men, and to have an extraordinary knowledge of God." To which Dewsbury replied, "We witness the work of regeneration to be an extraordinary work, wrought in us by the Spirit of God." "But, said the judge, the apostles wrought with their hands in their callings." They had, answered Dewsbury, callings in the world, some were fishermen, Paul a tentmaker; but when they were called to the ministry of Christ, they left their callings, to follow Christ, whither he led them by his Spirit, to preach the word; and I had a calling in the world, as they had, and in it did abide, until the Father revealed his Son in me, and called me from my calling I had in the world, to preach the eternal word he had made known to me in the great work of regeneration. Why, queried the judge, didst thou not abide in thy own country, and teach people in those parts? There I did stay, returned Dewsbury, until I was called to go from

thence to go to where I was led by the Spirit of the Lord; and as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons and daughters of God; and they that have not the Spirit of Christ are none of his. To this the judge said, "You say well; for we must in charity conclude, that every one in this place hath the spirit of God in him: but how do you know that you are guided by the Spirit of God?" "They that have the Spirit of God," replied Dewsbury, "are known by their fruits; and he that believeth in Jesus Christ, and is guided by the Spirit, hath the witness in himself." "That is true," said the judge, "yet notwithstanding, I see by your carriage, that what my brother Hale did at the last assizes, in requiring bond for your good behaviour, he might justly do it; for you are against magistrates and ministers." But Dewsbury returned, "Make that manifest wherein we are against them."

Then said the judge to the clerk, "Robert Guy, what have you against these men?" And he gave relation of what Dewsbury had said to priest Andrews in the steeple-house. Dewsbury then gave an account of the matter of fact and how the thing happened; and that it was not any breach of the law of the nation; the judge resumed; "But in that you are found *wandering* in the country, you break the law; *for there* is an old law that if any did go from

their dwellings to travel in the country without a certificate from some justice, they were to be taken as wandering persons." To this Dewsbury said, "If there be any such law, read it to us; and if there be such a law thou knowest in thy conscience it is contrary to the scripture; for the apostles and ministers of Christ went to and fro in the country, preaching the word of eternal life; and there were added to the church, daily such as should be saved; and the number of the saints and brethren daily increased; and the law that is in force in this nation, doth allow all that profess faith in Jesus Christ, to have free liberty to walk in the faith, which is according to scripture." To this the judge said, "Thou hast an eloquent tongue, and thou art proud of it," "Pride I deny," replied Dewsbury, "but the truth I witness, which will judge pride, and torment all that live in it, until it be destroyed." The judge then spoke to the other prisoners; and though he behaved himself moderately, yet he could not resolve to set them at liberty; but they were continued in prison, though they had been kept there about twenty nine weeks.

One of these prisoners was John Hutchin, whom they had nothing else to charge with, but that being come into the steeple-house at Wellingborough, he stood there peaceably in silence, but before half the sermon was over

priest Andrews commanded to have him taken away; which was done by the church-warden, Henry Hensman, who carried him to an ale-house, where it was told him by the constable, that if he would not come into the church in the afternoon he should be set free. But he refusing to make such a promise, though they let him alone then, yet some days after, a constable came to his master's shop, where he was working, and took him away without shewing any warrant.

Another of the prisoners was Michael Pattison, who having been in the same steeple-house, and standing peaceably in silence until priest Andrews had done, and the people were going away, said to him, "Friend, canst thou witness this to be the word of the Lord, that thou hast spoken here before the people?" But this so offended the priest, that he commanded the officers to take Michael away, which the constable John Brown did.

Thomas Goodyar, who was also one of the prisoners, being come to Northampton to visit his friends in prison there, it was denied him by the jailor; and he meeting the mayor and some aldermen in the streets, spoke to them about persecution; but one of the aldermen struck off his hat, and said, he would teach him better manners, than to stand and talk before the mayor with his hat on. Then they required sure-

ties for his good behaviour; and he told them, that he was bound to good behaviour by the righteous law of God; and refusing to find sureties, he was taken up in the street, and sent to prison without mittimus, or farther examination. But I will not detain my reader any longer with these prisoners; for if I should relate all occurrences of this nature that are come to my knowledge, and under what unreasonable pretences, even such as were not as yet fully entered into the communion of those called Quakers, were committed to prison, I must write much more than I might be able to do though my life should yet be lengthened considerably.

I find among my papers this time, the names of about an hundred persons, who, for not paying tithes to the priests, and refusing to swear, suffered either by seizure of their cattle and goods, or imprisonment. Thomas Aldham for not paying tithes to the priest Thomas Rookby, of Warnsworth, was imprisoned at York, in the year 1652, where he was kept above two years and a half, and besides had thirteen beeves and two horses taken from him.

But passing by a multitude of the like cases, I return again to G. Fox, whom I left in London. He having had there several large meetings, went from thence to Colchester, where, with difficulty, he visited James Parnel in pri-

son. From Colchester he went to Ipswich, and so on to Norwich, and Yarmouth, finding service every where.

Travelling farther, in company with R. Hubberthorn, towards Lynn, and by the way being in bed at an inn, a constable and officers came thither, being sent with an hue and cry from a justice of peace, to search for two horsemen that rid upon grey horses, and in grey clothes; a house being broken up at night, as was reported. Now, though they said they were honest and innocent men, yet a guard with halberts and pikes were set upon them that night, and in the morning they were carried before a justice of peace about five miles off. The justice grew angry, because they did not put off their hats to him: but G. Fox told him, he had been before the protector, and he was not offended at his hat; why then should he be offended at it, who was but one of his servants? The justice having examined them, said, he believed they were not the men that had broken open the house; but he was sorry that he had no more against them. But G. Fox told him, he ought not to be sorry for not having evil against them; but rather to be glad. The justice, though stirred up by the constable to send them to prison, yet let them go. G. Fox being thus set at liberty, travelled on to Lynn, from whence he went to Sutton, where he had a

great meeting, many people from other places being come thither, and also the mayor's wife of Cambridge; and many hundreds were convinced of the truth he preached. From thence he passed to Cambridge, and though the scholars were exceeding rude, yet he got safe into an inn. In the dark of the evening, the mayor of the town came, and fetched him to his house, whither some friendly people were sent for, and he had a meeting there. Next morning he departed the town, and returned to London, where he staid some time.

In this year came out the oath of abjuration against king Charles, whereupon he wrote to the protector, acquainting him, that many of his friends, who could not swear for conscience sake, suffered much on this account.

From London he went into Leicestershire, and coming to Whetstone, where formerly he had been taken by Colonel Hacker, he now had a great meeting, to which Hacker's wife, and his marshal came, and they, besides many more were convinced by G. Fox's ministry; who going from thence after having passed through many places, came again to London, where meeting James Naylor, and casting his eyes upon him, he was struck with a fear concerning him: being as it were under a sense of some disaster that was like to befal him.

In this year Edward Burrough wrote a letter

to the protector, wherein he told him, that the Lord's controversy was against him, because he had not been faithful in God's work; but that he had taken his rest and ease upon a lofty mountain of pride and vain glory; having set up himself to be worshipped, and exalted his own horn, without giving glory and honour to God. Moreover, that he had not performed his vows made to the Lord in the day of distress; and that now he suffered grievous oppression, cruelty and tyranny to be acted in his name, by unjust imprisonments, and persecution of the Lord's people. That therefore the Lord would bring his judgments upon him except he did repent. How boldly soever Burrough wrote in this letter to Cromwell, yet I do not find that he shewed himself angry because of it; but yet he hearkened too much to the flatteries of those teachers, who being now entered into the possessions of the Episcopalians, exalted him as their idol, by their applause. And he revering them as such who could strengthen his authority with the people, winked at the grievous persecution, by their instigation carried on against the Quakers, so called.

In the meanwhile there were many malcontents who could not bear that Cromwell should force the members of parliament to consent to make no change in the government then established, and would not suffer any one to sit in the house,

without having promised by writing, not to oppose, or give his consent there, to the change of the said government. This gave occasion, that even some of those who had been his eminent friends, now did not hesitate to reprove him sharply.

Among these was lieutenant colonel John Lilburn, who being an extraordinary bold man, very stiff and inflexible, had more than once shewed himself a public assertor of the people's liberty: for which he had been prosecuted at law; viz, once in the year 1645, when he was imprisoned as guilty of treason, but was discharged; and afterwards, in the year 1649, when, having published several books, to expose to the public the arbitrary power he thought was exercised in the government, he was confined in the tower: and after having been prisoner about seven months, was impeached of high treason. But he so vigorously defended his cause, that though strong persuasions had been used to bribe the jury to bring him in guilty, yet he so far prevailed, that at length he was set at liberty again; though I find that once he was whipped for a crime laid to his charge, of which he gloried publicly. And when Cromwell had usurped the supreme power, Lilburn made bold to charge him both by word of mouth and by writing, with falsity and *tyranny: and he* went on at that rate, that Crom-

well, foreseeing that if this man continued thus to expose his doings, he should not be able to maintain his credit and authority, ordered him to be taken into custody, and impeached of high treason. When Lilburn, thus accused, appeared at the bar, he behaved himself with that undauntedness, and so defended his cause, that he seemed less to plead for his life, than for the freedom of his country: and, boldly answering what was objected to him, said that what he had done was not only no high treason; but that the government was such, that no high treason could be committed against it; and that therefore all true Englishmen were obliged to oppose the tyranny that was exercised. He also said, that having been once in favour with Cromwell he might have attained to great preferment, if he would have been quiet: but that he having thought this unlawful, it was now resolved to have his life taken away; which he did not fear because he asserted a good cause. Thus vigorously Lilburn pleaded, and he defended his cause with such strong arguments, that the jury brought him in not guilty, notwithstanding the endeavours of the judges to the contrary.

Now, though according to law, he must have been set at liberty, yet Cromwell would not consent to it, but kept him prisoner; and because he indeed feared him, as one that would weaken his government, he ordered him to be

carried from one prison to another, till at length he came to be confined in the castle of Dover, in which town lived Luke Howard, mentioned before; who thereby having occasion to speak with Lilburn concerning religion, gave him such convincing reasons, for his profession, as prevailed, upon Lilburn to receive the truth; as he himself signified in a letter he writ to his wife; who having visited him in prison, afterwards writ to him this following exhortation.

"My dear,

"Retain a sober, patient spirit within thee, which I am confident thou shalt see shall be of more force to recover thee, than all thy keen metal hath been. I hope God is doing a work upon thee and me too, as shall make us study ourselves more than we have done."

These words were so acceptable to Lilburn, that repeating them in his letter to her, he answered thus, after many other passages:

"O, my dear love!

"I am deeply already entered into my part of it: the mighty power of God enable thee to get in too, and also to go through thine, and effectually to go cheerfully and willingly along hand in hand with me, which would render thee *abundantly more* amiable, lovely, and pleasant

in mine eyes, although thou wert then clothed in rags, than thou couldst be to me in thy drawing back, or standing still where thou wast when I last saw thee, though therein thou wert clothed all over with rich and outward glittering earthly diamonds, and in the greatest of earthly prosperity. I am sorry thou art so straightly put to it for money; but to live upon God by faith, in the depth of straits, is the lively condition of a Christian. O that thy spirit could attain unto this! according to thy desire in thy letter, and my own present frame of spirit. ———I now can contentedly feed savourily upon bread and cheese, and small beer alone, for saving of money. And for my liberty, about which thou so weariest and spendest thyself, as thy letter acquaints me thou dost, I can say to thee, that I am in my present temper of spirit, ready really with Peter, at the sight of the glorious transfiguration of Christ, to say, it is good being here. For here in Dover Castle, through the loving-kindness of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God, and myself, and his gracious outgoings to my soul, than ever I had in all my lifetime, not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition under the bishops.———And now submissively and heartily I can say, the will of my heavenly *Father* be done in me, by me, and for me; in

whose will I leave thee and thine, with all thy and my friends, and rest

Thine in the strength of
renewedness of true love,
"John Lilburn."

From Dover Castle the place of the present enjoyed delightful dispensations of the eternal, everlasting love of God unto my soul. The 4th of the 10th month. 1655.

Whilst Lilburn was prisoner here, Cromwell, as it seemed, would have released him, if he would have signed a declaration that he would never draw a sword against his government. But Lilburn as yet not being fully convinced, that to refrain from the use of the carnal sword, was the duty of a true Christian, refused; thinking, that though G. Fox had signed such a declaration, yet this did not become him, because he did not perfectly approve, that point of self-denial. But however, continuing in faithfulness, to persevere in respect of that knowledge he had already attained to, he became, in process of time, such an assertor of the true Christian life, that in a paper, which at his desire was given out in print, he expressed himself thus:

"I have now the faithful and true witness in my own soul, that the Lord himself is become, *within me, the teacher* of my soul, and enabler

of me to walk in a measure of his pure ways and paths; yea, and so clear a teacher within me is he already become unto me, as that I with confidence believe my inward teacher shall never now more be removed into a corner: but is, and shall be, as a continual voice speaking in my ears, This is the way, walk in it: by which divine teaching, I am now daily taught to die to sin, and led up by it into living power, to be raised up, and enabled to live in a pure measure of righteousness; and by which inward spiritual teachings, I am, I say again, led up into power in Christ, by which I particularly can, and do hereby witness, that I am already dead, or crucified to the very occasions, and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal sword-fightings, and fleshly bustlings and contests; and that therefore confidently I now believe I shall never hereafter be an user of a temporal sword more, nor a joiner with those that so do. And this I do here solemnly declare, not in the least to avoid persecution, or for any politic ends of my own, or in the least for the satisfaction of the fleshly wills of any of my great adversaries, or for satisfying the carnal will of my poor, weak, afflicted wife; but by the special movings and compulsions of God now upon my soul, am I in truth and righteousness *compelled* thus to declare; that so I may *take away from* my adversaries, all their fig-leaf

covers, or pretences, for their continuing of my every way unjust bonds. And that thereby, if yet I must be an imprisoned sufferer, it may from this day forward, be for the truth as it is in Jesus; which truth I witness to be truly professed and practised by the savouriest of people called Quakers.

"And to this my present declaration, which I exceedingly long and earnestly desire to have in print, and for which I know that I can cheerfully and assuredly lay down my life, if I be called to witness the truth of it, I subscribe my name,

"John Lilburn."

From my innocent and every way causeless captivity in Dover Castle, the place of my soul's delightful and contentful abode, where I have really and substantially found that which my soul many years hath sought diligently after, and with unsatisfied longingness thirsted to enjoy: this present 1st day of the week, being the 4th of the 3d month, 1655.

It sufficiently appears by this, that Lilburn did not think that this declaration would procure his liberty; and he guessed not wrong; for before he was released, Cromwell died. Lilburn being then discharged from his confinement, continued steadfast to the doctrine of the truth he had embraced, and died at London in the year 1660. But being advanced in the time,

I go therefore back a little, and intend in the sequel to give a more circumstantial description of Cromwell's death.

And thus I conclude this book with the year 1655, in which year there was a plot of the royalists against Cromwell; and in Nottinghamshire they had already surprised some places; and towards the West the city of Salisbury. The young king (Charles) was now come from Cologne into Zealand, to be the nearer if the attempt succeeded. But his time of ruling was not yet come; for the cavaliers were soon forced to give way to the power of Cromwell: and the design being thus quashed, king Charles returned to Cologne. In the meanwhile Cromwell, to raise his esteem abroad, sent a fleet under admiral Penn to the West-Indies, and another under the command of admiral Blake toward the Mediterranean sea.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

NEAR the beginning of the year 1656, G. Fox went from London to Surry, Chichester, Portsmouth, and Pool; where William Baily, a Baptist teacher, and some others, were convinced by G. Fox's ministry, and entered into the society of those called Quakers; among whom, Baily afterwards became an eminent minister. From Pool G. Fox went to Southampton and Dorchester, where he desired of the Baptists to have their meeting-house to meet in; but they refusing, he sent them word, that they might come to his inn, if they pleased. Many of them came, with their teacher, and they fell into a discourse about water baptism. G. Fox asked them, whether they could say *they were sent of* God to baptize people, as

John was; and whether they had the s
rit and power, that the apostles ha
said, they had not. Then he asked t
many powers there are? Whether the
more than the power of God, and the
the devil; and they said, there was
power than those two. Then said
"If you have not the power of God,
apostles had, then you act by the pow
devil." And his speaking was of su
that many substantial people were
that night. Next morning when he
ing away the Baptists began to shake
from off their feet after him. "Wha
in the power of darkness! We who
power of God, shake off the dust o
against you."

Leaving Dorchester, he came to
where inquiring after the sober pe
fourscore of them gathered together
house, and most of them were turn
Jesus, who had enlightened them w
light, by which they were repr
sins. There was at that time a ca
in the town, who rode about sev
town with G. Fox: this captain
merry temper, and so exceed
laughter, that G. Fox several ti
seriously to him about it; but
so customary to him, that he

most at any thing he saw. But G. Fox still admonished him to gravity, and the fear of the Lord; and of this he spoke to him again when they parted. The next time G. Fox saw him, the captain told him, that when he spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him, that before he got home, he was serious enough, and had left his laughing. He indeed became a serious and good man; and being convinced of the truth, died in the real profession thereof.

For brevity's sake I do not intend to mention all the places G. Fox passed through, much less all his occurrences. At Kingsbridge he had good service; and returning in the evening to his inn, and there being many people drinking, he was moved to go amongst them, and to direct them to the light which Christ, the heavenly man, had enlightened them withal: by which light they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds; and by the same light they might also see Christ Jesus their Saviour. But this discourse did not please the innkeeper, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking: and hearing G. Fox speak so much of the light, he snatched away the candle, and said, "Come here is light for you to go into your chamber."

The next day G. Fox went to Plymouth, and from thence into Cornwall; and travelling through the county he came to Market Jew.

Being there at an inn, he met with some trouble from the magistrates; and he wrote a paper, to shew, that the Lord was come, to teach his people himself, by Jesus Christ, &c. This paper came to the hands of Peter Ceely, a major in the army and also a justice of the peace at Ives, whither G. Fox came. Here Edward Pyot and W. Salt, who were G. Fox's fellow-travellers, were haled before the said major, whilst G. Fox was walking down to the sea-side: but he hearing this, followed them, and came also into the justice's house, where the aforesaid paper being produced, it was asked him, whether he would own it? And he said, "Yes." Then the major tendered them the oath of abjuration. G. Fox hereupon put his hand in his pocket, drew forth the answer to it, which had been given to the protector. A priest being present there, found fault with his hair, which then was pretty long, and asked to cut it: but G. Fox told him he had no pride in it. It happened also at other times, that because of his long hair he was spoken to, as I have seen myself; but of this I am fully persuaded, that he had not the least pride in it; but it seems to me not improbable, that he seeing how some would make it a kind of holiness to wear short hair, did the contrary, to shew that in some things there was a christian *liberty*, for which we ought not to judge one *another*. But to proceed, G. Fox and his com-

panions were taken into custody, and with a guard of horse sent to prison with this mittimus.

Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the peace of this county, to the keeper of his highness's gaol at Launceston, or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting.

"I send you herewithal by the bearers hereof the bodies of Edward Pyot of Bristol, and G. Fox of Drayton and Clea, in Leicestershire, and William Salt of London, which they pretend to be the place of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers, and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread several papers, tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into these parts, being persons altogether unknown, and having no pass for their travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties for their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided, and refuse to take the oath of abjuration, &c. These are therefore, in the name of his highness the lord protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his highness's prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by *due course* of law they shall be deliver-

ed. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal, at St. Ives the eighteenth day of January, 1655.

P. Ceely."

By this mittimus it appears under what odd pretences the Quakers, so called, were committed to prison; for such reasons as are mentioned therein, might be found at any time. Thus G. Fox and his companions were carried through Redruth, Falmouth, and Bodmin, to Launceston. By the way they suffered great insolence, both from the soldiers that conducted them, and from others, by the connivance of captain Keat; but I will not detain my reader with all the particulars. Being come to Launceston, Keat delivered the prisoners to the jailor. And though many were greatly enraged against them, and expected that these prisoners, who thou'd and thee'd all, and did not put off their hats to any man, should at the assizes be condemned to be hanged, if they did not pay that respect to the bench: yet there were many friendly people, out of several parts of the country, that came to visit them; for it was about nine weeks from the time of their commitment to the assizes; by reason of which several got opportunity to speak with them, which had that good effect, that many were con-

vinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them.

At the time of the assizes, abundance of people came from far and near, to hear the trial of the Quakers; who being guarded by the soldiers, and the sheriffs' men to the court, had much ado to get through the multitude that filled the streets; besides the doors and windows were filled with people looking out upon them. Being brought into the court, G. Fox, after all was quiet, said, "Peace be amongst you." The judge (Glyn) who was then chief justice of England, said to the jailor, "What be these you have brought here into the court?" "prisoners, my lord," said he. "Why do not you put off your hats?" said the judge to them. They saying nothing; "Put off your hats" said the judge again: and they still continuing silent, the judge said, "The court commands you to put off your hats." Then G. Fox began to speak, and said, "Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews (the people of God) or amongst the Gathens? And if the law of England doth command any such thing, shew me that law, whether written or printed." The judge, then growing angry, said, "I do not carry my law books on my back." But said G. Fox, where

is it printed in any stature-book, that I may read it? At this the judge said, "Take him away, prevaricator! I'll ferk him." Then the prisoners were taken away, and put among the thieves. But presently after the judge called to the jailor, Bring them up again. This being done, Come, said he, where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? come answer me; I have you fast now. To this G. Fox replied, "Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace, by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and hats on." This plain instance stopt him; so that not having any thing else to say, he cried again, Take them away jailor. Accordingly they were taken away, and being thrust among the thieves, they were kept there a great while, and at length carried again to prison: but in the afternoon they were brought up again into the court.

G. Fox seeing the jurymen there, gave them a paper which he had written against swearing. This paper passing from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge, and he bid the clerk give G. Fox that paper, and then asked him, whether that seditious paper was his? To which he said, if they would read it in open court that he might hear it, if it was his, he would own it, and stand by it. The judge would have G. Fox have taken it, and looked

upon it in his own hand. But he desired again, that it might be read, that all in the court might hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it, or no; for if there were, he was willing to suffer for it. At length the clerk of the assizes read it with an audible voice; and when he had done, G. Fox said, it was his paper, and he would own it; and so might they too, except they would deny the Scripture; for was it not Scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ and the apostles, which all true Christians ought to obey? Then they let fall that subject, and the judge speaking again about the hats of the prisoners, bid the jailor take them off. Then they asked, what they had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing now nothing was objected against them, but what concerned their hats? "And," said G. Fox, "as for putting off our hats, that was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it: the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, is the mark of unbelievers: for "How can ye believe," saith Christ, "who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" And Christ saith also, "I receive not honour from men." And all true Christians should be of his mind. Then the judge made a speech, how he represented *the lord protector's* person; and how he had

made him lord chief justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, &c. Thereupon the prisoners desired him that he would do them justice for their false imprisonment, which they had suffered nine weeks.

But instead thereof, an indictment was read against them, but so full of untruths, that G. Fox thought it had been against some of the thieves; for it contained, that they came by force and arms, and in an hostile manner into the court; whereas they were brought there as prisoners; which made him say, it was all false. And still they cried for justice for their false imprisonment, being taken up in their journey without cause, by major Ceely. Then this Peter Ceely, who as a justice of peace sat also on the bench, said to the judge, May it please you, my lord, this man, (pointing to G. Fox) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at any hours warning, and involve the nation in blood, and so bring in king Charles: and I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And if it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it. And so he called upon his witness, who, without question, was one that was bribed. But the judge, perceiving this palpable lie, was not forward to examine the witness. Then G. Fox desired the judge that he would be pleased

to let his mittimus be read, in which the pretended crime was signified, for which he was committed to prison. But the judge said, it should not be read, G. Fox still insisting to have it read, said, "It ought to be: for if I have done any thing worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it." Seeing then they would not read it, he said to one of his fellow prisoners, "Thou hast a copy of it, read it up." "It shall not be read," said the judge; "jailor, take him away; I will see whether he or I shall be master.

Then G. Fox was taken away, and a while after called for again. He still cried to have the mittimus read; and the people being eager to hear it, he bid his fellow prisoner to read it up. Which being done, and read according to the copy already mentioned, G. Fox said to the judge and justices, "Thou that sayest, thou art chief justice of England, and you that be justices, ye know, that if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whether I pleased, and have carried on the design, if I had one, which major Ceely hath charged me with. And if I had spoken these words to him, which he hath here declared, then judge ye, whether bail or mainprise could have been taken in that case." Then directing his speech to major Ceely, he said, "When, or where did I take thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as

rude as any of them at our examination, so that I asked for a constable, or other officer, to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? That is not a place for thee to sit in; for accusers do not use to sit with the judges: thou oughtest to come down, and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask the judge and justices this question, whether or no, major Ceely is not guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done? Doth he understand his place, either as a soldier, or a justice of the peace? For he tells you here, that I went aside with him, and told him what a design I had in hand; and how serviceable he might be for it; that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, and bring in king Charles, and involve the nation in blood. Moreover, that he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for my good behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now do not ye see plainly, that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason that he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, and demanding bail of me; and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, or discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design."

The judge by this seeing clearly that Ceely, instead of insnaring Fox, had insnared himself, let fall that business. But then Ceely got up again, and said to the judge, "If it please you, my lord, to hear me: this man struck me, and gave me such a blow, as I never had in my life." G. Fox smiling at this, said, "Major Ceely, art thou a justice of the peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tells the judge here in the face of the court and country, that I, who am a prisoner, struck thee; and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely, where did I strike thee? And who is thy witness for that? Who was by?" To this Ceely said, it was in the castle-green, and that captain Bradden was standing by when G. Fox struck him. Who then desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that: and he called again upon Ceely, to come down from off the bench; telling him, it was not fit that the accuser should sit as judge over the accused. Ceely then said, captain Bradden was his witness: which made G. Fox say to captain Bradden, who was present there, "Didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him, as he saith?" Bradden made no answer, but bowed his head. G. Fox then desired him to speak up, if he knew any such thing; but he only, *bowed his head* again. "Nay", said G. Fox

"speak up, and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me. I fear not sufferings, nor death itself; for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge." But Bradden would not testify to it. And the judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, "Take him away, jailor;" and fined the prisoners twenty marks a piece, for not putting off their hats, and to be kept in prison till they paid the fine: and so they were brought back to jail again.

At night captain Bradden came with seven or eight justices to see them; and they being very civil, said, they did not believe that either the judge, or any in the court, believed those charges which major Ceely had made upon G. Fox. And Bradden said, major Ceely had an intent to have taken away G. Fox's life, if he could have got another witness. "But" said G. Fox, "Captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing major Ceely produced thee for a witness, that thou sawest me strike him? And when I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou sawest or knewest, thou wouldst not speak." "Why," said he, 'when major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the castle-green, he put off his hat to you, and said how do you do Mr Fox? Your ser-

vant, sir. Then you said to him, major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy, aud of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy servant, or thou my master? Do servants use to cast their masters into prison? This was the great blow he meant that you gave him." G. Fox hearing this, called to mind, that they walking by, Ceely had spoken the aforesaid words, and that he himself indeed made such an answer as is mentioned; and he thought he had said nothing amiss, since Ceely had so openly manifested his hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and would have made all believe, that G. Fox gave him a stroke outwardly with his hand. A report of this trial being spread abroad, divers people, of whom some were of account in the world, came far and near to see him and his friends in prison, which tended to the convincement of some.

Being settled in prison upon such a commitment, that they were not likely to be soon released, they forbore to give the jailor seven shillings a week a-piece for themselves, and as much for their horses, which he had in a manner extorted from them; but upon this he grew so very wicked, that he turned them down into a nasty stinking place, where they used to put persons condemned for witchcraft and murder. This place was so noisome that it was observed, *that few who* went into it, did ever come out

again in health: for there was no house of office in it, and the excrements of the prisoners, that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out for many years; so that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes in water &c. and the jailor would not suffer them to cleanse it, nor let them have beds or straw to lie on. At night some friendly people of the town brought them a candle and a little straw; of which they were about to burn a little to take away the stink. The thieves lay over their heads, and the head jailor in a room by them over their heads also. But it seems the smoke went up into the room where he lay, which put him into such a rage, that he took the pots of the thieves' excrements, and poured them down through a hole upon their heads; whereby they were so bespattered, that it was loathsome to touch themselves, or one another; besides the stink so increased, that by it and the smoke, they were almost in danger of being suffocated. And all this could not satisfy the rage of this cruel jailor, but he railed against them so hideously and called them such horrible nicknames, that they never had heard the like before. In this manner they were forced to stand all night, for they could not sit down, the place being so filthy. Thus he kept them a great while, before he would let them cleanse it, or suffer them to have any victuals

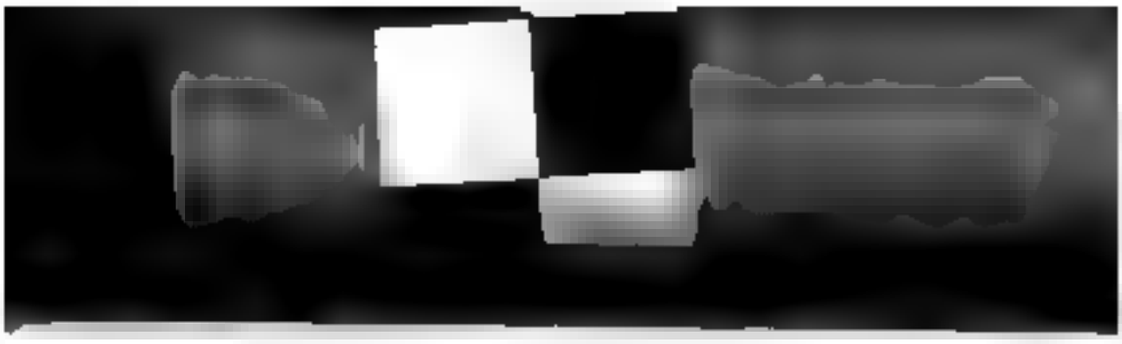
brought in, by the grate. And even this could not be done without difficulty; for a lass once having brought them a little meat, he sued her in the town court for breaking the prison; perhaps, because she had a little bent a half broken bar of the grate, to get a small dish through it. That this jailor was so desperately wicked is not so much to be wondered at, since (as they were informed) he had been a thief, and was on that account burnt both in the hand and on the shoulder: and the under-jailor in like manner: their wives had also been burnt in the hand. It was not at all strange then, that the prisoners suffered most grievously from such a wicked crew; but it was more to be wondered at that colonel Bennet, a Baptist teacher, having purchased the jail and lands belonging to the castle, had there placed this head-jailor.

It was much talked of, that spirits haunted this dungeon, and walked there, and that many had died in it; some thinking to terrify the prisoners therewith. But G. Fox told them, that if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, he was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing; for Christ their priest, would sanctify the walls and the house to them; he who bruised the head of the devil: as the priest was to cleanse the plague out of the walls of the house under the law.

Now the time of the sessions at Bodmin be-

ing come, the prisoners drew up their suffering case, and sent the paper thither; upon reading of which, the justices gave order, that the door of Doomsdale (thus the dungeon was called) should be open, and that they should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy their meat in the town. Having obtained this liberty they wrote to London, and desired Ann Downer, a young woman already mentioned in this work, to come down, and to buy and dress their meat; which she being very willing to do, was therein greatly serviceable to them; for she was a good writer, and could take things in short-hand. They also sent up a relation of their sufferings to the Protector; who thereupon sent down an order to the governor of Pendennis Castle, to examine the matter. On which occasion Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him, they could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there. This was not altogether untrue, for he was much visited, and many were turned from the darkness to the light; notwithstanding the mayor of Launceston was a fierce persecutor, casting in prison all he could get; and he did not hesitate to search substantial, grave women, as is supposed, for letters.

In Devonshire it was not much better; for *many of those* called Quakers, that travelled



through the country, were taken up and whipped, under pretence of being vagabonds; nay some clothiers that were going to mill with their cloth, and other substantial men were seized and whipped: and Henry Pollexfen, who had been a justice of the peace for the most part of forty years before was cast into prison, under pretence of being a Jesuit.

In the meanwhile Edward Pyot, who had been a captain, and was a man of good understanding in the laws and rights of the nation, wrote a large letter to the lord chief justice Glyn, wherein he plainly set before him his unlawful dealings, and queried with him whether his saying, if ye will be uncovered, (or put off your hats) I will hear you and do you justice, was not an overthrow of the laws that were made to maintain right and justice? Many other particulars (and among the rest that of G. Fox's striking major Ceely) were also mentioned in this letter. G. Fox himself wrote also several papers, wherein the odiousness of persecution was plainly set forth.

Among those who came to visit him was also Thomas Lower, a doctor of physic in London, who, whilst I am writing this, is yet alive, and he asking many questions concerning religious matters, received such satisfactory answers from G. Fox, that he afterwards said his words were *as a flash of lightning*, they ran so through him.

and that he never met with such wise men in his life, &c. Thus he came to be convinced of the truth, and so entered into communion with the despised Quakers. While G. Fox was still in prison, one of his friends went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself body for body, to lie in Doomsdale prison in his stead, if he would take him and let G. Fox go at liberty. But Cromwell said he could not do it, for it was contrary to law; and turning to those of his council, "Which of you (quoth he) would do so much for me, if I were in the same condition?"

Thus G. Fox continued in prison, and it was yet a good while before he and his fellow prisoners were released. The next year the wicked jailor received a recompense of his deeds; for he was turned out of his place, and for some wicked act was cast into jail himself; and there his carriage was so unruly, that he was by the succeeding jailor put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten, and bid to remember, how he had abused those good men, whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty dungeon; but that now he should deservedly suffer for his wickedness; and the same measure he had meted to others, he should have meted to himself: and this mischievous fellow, who might have grown rich, if he had carried himself civilly, grew now very poor and died in prison.

About the same time that G. Fox was released, Cromwell called a parliament, which met for the first sitting, in the painted chamber at Westminster, on the 17th of the month called September. Samuel Fisher got an opportunity to come into this assembly, where he heard the protector's speech, and in it these words, that he knew not of any one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in all England. And after he had got the conveniency of a standing, he said that he had a word to speak from the Lord to the protector, to the parliament and the people, and then he began thus:

"The burden of the word of the Lord God of heaven and earth, as it came unto me on the 22d day of the last month, and as it now lieth upon me to declare it in his name, even unto thee Oliver Cromwell, protector (so called) of these three nations, England, Scotland, and Ireland; and also to all you who are chosen out of the several parts thereof to sit in parliament this day, to consider of such things as concern the commonwealth thereof; and likewise to the three nations themselves, and all the people thereof, whose rulers and representatives you are; which word of the Lord; as ye do not deem yourselves too high, or too great, or too good, to be spoken to from the Lord, and as you will not fall under the guilt of that sin of saying to the seers see not and to the proph

ets prophesy not, prophesy not unto us right things, prophesy smooth things, prophesy deceits; I charge you all in the name of the living God, that without interruption or opposition, whether you like it or like it not, you stand still and hear it: and when I have done, you may do with me as the Lord shall give you leave, or leave me under the power of your hands to do; no law of equity condemning any man before he be heard, especially when he speaks on so high an account as from the God of Heaven himself, though to such as are no less than gods under him here on earth.

Scarce had he spoken thus much, but some cried, "A Quaker, a Quaker, keep him down, he shall not speak:" Yet the protector and the parliament-men were still and quiet. But some others, among whom two justices of peace, had not so much patience; but Fisher, as he related afterwards, believed that the protector and the parliament-men would have given audience, had not others set him at nought: some saying, the protector had spoken long, and was very hot and weary; and that he [Fisher] might be ashamed to occasion his stay any longer. Thus Fisher was interrupted, and the protector and parliament-men rising, went away; though Fisher did not question but the protector would have heard him: for his moderation in hearing what was said, having been experienced before, Fish-

er was willing to acknowledge his nobility as freely, as Paul took notice of the like in Festus; whom he held most noble in that he would hear him; though he thought him mad. Fisher being thus prohibited, published his speech in print, so as he intended to have delivered it, though not one syllable of it was written before. It was pretty long, and contained a sharp reproof to the hypocrisy of those, who under a shew of godliness made long prayers, kept fasts, and nevertheless lived in pride, pomp, luxury, persecuting those who really were a pious people. And to the protector he said, that unless he took away the wicked from before him, and all flattering false accusers, his throne would never be established in righteousness. In the introduction placed before this speech, he saith, that before this burden came upon him, he had prayed God that he might have been excused this message, thinking that a more unworthy one than himself could not have been singled out; but whatever he did, he could not be rid of it; and though he spent a whole week with fasting, tears, and supplication, yet during the time of that abstinence, he felt a daily supply and refreshment to his spirits, so that he fully resigned to do what he believed was required of him from the Lord; and he felt all fears of the frowns of men removed from him. Some other speeches which he intended to have made

to the parliament, but was obstructed therein, he also published afterwards in print.

In the latter part of this year it happened that Humphry Smith coming to Evesham in Worcestershire, was disturbed in a meeting by the mayor, Edward Young, who said he would break the Quakers' meetings, or else his bones should lie in the dirt. Thus resolved, he came in the month called October, on a first day of the week in the morning, into their meeting, in a house where H. Smith was; and several persons, after being rudely abused, were haled out to prison. In the afternoon a meeting being kept in the street, some of the company were by order of the said mayor put into the stocks, and others, of whom the aforesaid Smith was one, into a dark dungeon: and though the mayor then said, it was an unlawful assembly, but if they would meet in houses, he would not molest them; yet on the next first day of the week, he seeing one going to a meeting that was appointed in a house, put him in prison. H. Smith, and his friends had some bedding and bed-clothes sent them, but the mayor caused it to be taken away from them; and when afterwards some straw was brought them to lie upon, the jailor would not suffer it; nay, when one came, and asked liberty to fetch out their dung from them, the mayor denied it, and ordered him to be put in the stocks. The place

where they were kept, was not twelve feet square, and the hole to take in air, was but four inches wide, so that even by day-light they were fain to burn candle, when they had it. Here they were kept above fourteen weeks, with their own dung in the same room; so that one of them grew sick of the stink; and yet the jailor said, if they had been there for theft or murder, he could have let them have more liberty than now he durst, because of the mayor. James Wall, one of the prisoners, was a freeman of the town, and a shop-keeper, and yet the mayor forbad his wife to stand in the market-place, which for many years she had done. She going to him about it, he began to fawn upon her, and said: "I hear that your husband doth abuse you." To which she answered, "My husband did never abuse me; but as for that judgment which he now holdeth, once I could not own it; but now seeing it is so much persecuted, makes me own it, because the way of God was always persecuted." He hearing her speak so, said, she should not have a standing-place for five pounds.

About a month after, Margaret Newby, and Elizabeth Courton came to this town, and had a meeting at the house of one Edward Pitwayes: but coming in the afternoon to visit the prisoners, the mayor himself laid violent hands on them, and caused them to be put in the stocks

with their legs near a yard one from another; and he would not suffer them to have a block to sit on, though they desired it; yet as one that would seem to have some modesty, he bid the constable to fetch a block, and put between their legs uttering indecent expressions: in this posture they were kept for the space of fifteen hours, and then in a freezing night sent out of the town, without suffering them to go to any place to refresh themselves. And as to Humphry Smith, and those with him, they were yet kept a good while in prison.

In this year Alexander Parker was at Radnor in Wales, and bearing there a testimony against the priest Vavasor Powel, he also preached the doctrine of truth, as occasion offered. It was, I think, about this time, that Ambrose Rigg and Thomas Robinson came to Exeter; from thence to Bristol, and afterwards to Basingstoke in Hampshire. Here, after much trouble, they got a meeting appointed; but before all the people was assembled, the chief priest with the magistrates came thither, and causing them to be taken away, tendered them the oath of abjuration. But they denying to swear, for conscience-sake, were committed to prison: and the jailer nailed planks before the window, to deprive them of the light; neither would he suffer them to have a candle at night. Here they were kept about a quarter of a year, having

nothing to lie on but some straw. But this their suffering had such effect, that some of the inhabitants seeing these unreasonable dealings, began to enquire into the doctrine held forth by the sufferers, and so came to be convinced of the truth thereof. They at last being released, Robinson went to Portsmouth, where he preached repentance. Some time after A. Rigg came also thither, and reaped what Robinson in some respect had sowed; though it was not long before he was sent out of the town. But returning within a short time, he found opportunity to have a meeting there; and by his preaching some were convinced, and embraced his doctrine.

From thence he went to the Isle of Wight, where some also received the doctrine maintained by him. After some stay he returned to Sussex, where he had great service. And travelling up and down the country, he came to Weymouth and Melcomb-regis, where speaking in the steeple-house against the priest, he was seized and locked up in a nasty dungeon where there was nothing to lie on but some filthy straw, and a stone to sit on: there was also no house of office, but on the ground lay an heap of dung. But there being an opening at the top of the room, he could see people go along the streets, and thus took occasion, from this *subterranean* cave, to preach to the passengers

with such power and efficacy, that his doctrine entered into the hearts of the hearers, and stuck there. This manner of preaching often hath been in England, and I myself, in my young years, have been an eye-witness of it; and have heard the prisoners lift up their voice so, that it could easily be heard in the streets; which made the people that passed by, stand still, and hearken to what was spoken by such zealous preachers. And though these were often hindered of having meetings, yet it was impossible to stop up the fountain from whence their words flowed. Thus it was also with A. Rigg, who, after an imprisonment of eleven weeks, being set at liberty, travelled up and down again; but in many places where he came, a prison was his lot; sometimes even when nothing could be laid to his charge, but that he was gone from his dwelling-place: for the parliament had made a law, that all who were gone from home, and could not give a satisfactory account of their business, should be taken up as vagabonds. Under this pretence, many who travelled to the markets with their goods, were seized by the way; for if it did but appear that such an one was a Quaker, which was presently seen by his not putting off his hat, then there wanted no pretended reason to put him into prison.

A. Rigg travelling on, came also to visit some

of his friends in prison at Southampton. This was taken so ill, that the mayor, Peter Seal, without examining, caused him to be fastened to the whipping-post in the market-place, where he was severely lashed by the executioner, and then put into a cart, and sent out of the town, in freezing snowy weather; the mayor threatening him, that if ever he returned, he should be whipped again, and burnt in the shoulder with an R, signifying rogue. Notwithstanding this, he was moved to return, and the mayor was very eager to have this executed on him; but the other magistrates would not consent; and not long after the mayor died of a bloody flux. This relation hath carried me a little beyond the course of time. But now I leave A. Rigg for a while, intending to make further mention of him hereafter.

In this year William Caton went again into Scotland, from whence returning, he travelled to Bristol, Plymouth, and so to London; from whence he made a voyage again to Holland, where William Ames and John Stubbs had been, and also found some among the English people at Amsterdam, who had received the doctrine they preached, though afterwards they turned from it again. W. Ames found also some reception among the Baptists there, who at first were *pleased with* him, but J. Stubbs did not *please them so* well, as Dr. Galenus Abrahams

once told me, who compared Ames to a musician that played a very melodious tune, and Stubbs to a disturber of the harmonious music, though Ames afterwards for his great zeal, was found fault with also.

W. Caton now arrived at Dort, and from thence repaired to Rotterdam; where, for want of an interpreter that understood English, he was fain to make use of the Latin. But it grieved him exceedingly to meet with some unruly spirits there, that having been in some measure convinced by W. Ames, run out under the denomination of Quakers, into extremes, both in words and writings. Some of these persons, I know, and have seen also some of the books they published in print, in which, under a pretence of plainness, not one capital letter was to be found, even not to proper names, nay, not to names of authors themselves. And since they ran out into several other extravagancies, it was not much to be wondered, that the magistrates clapt them in Bedlam. The ringleader of these people, was one Isaac Furnier, who formerly (as I have heard my uncle tell, who had seen it himself) lived as another Diogenes, using at the fire, instead of a pair of tongs, a split stick; and now conversing among the Quakers, so callèd, made it a piece of holiness to use the most blunt language he could think of; how absurd and irregular soever: In

fine, he so behaved himself, that the orthordox Quakers rejected his society. He it was, as I have understood who was the author of that ridiculous saying, "My spirit testifieth:" which, though not approved, nor used by the Quakers, yet hath been so spread among the people in the low Countries, that it hath been constantly credited, and is not yet quite disbelieved, that the Quakers used to say so of any thing they intend to do; and that if any one, whoever it be, says so, they will give credit to his saying. The above Dr. Galenus told me, that this man coming to his door, and finding the doctor's name written on the post of the door (as is used in Holland) did, with his knife, scratch out the letters Dr. signifying doctor. On which the doctor asked him, why he did so? And his answer was, because the spirit did testify so unto him. And being asked farther, if so be that the spirit did move him to stab the doctor with the knife, whether he would follow that motion, he answered (if the relation be true) as the doctor affirmed to me, "Yes." But however it be, this is true, that this Furnier was a passionate, and giddy-headed man, whom the Quakers could not own, though he had translated many of their books out of English into Dutch; and would also preach amongst them. But at length he left them, and turning Papist, *fell to a dissolute* and debauched life.

But to return to W. Caton; coming to Amsterdam, he did not find much more satisfaction there than at Rotterdam; for several high-conceited professors, who seemed to approve the doctrine preached by the Quakers, were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive instruction themselves. Wherefore W. Caton did not stay long at Amsterdam, but returned to Rotterdam; and from thence went to Zealand, arriving at Middleburgh, accompanied with a certain young man, who went to some of the meeting-places in that city, and was apprehended; which Caton understanding, went to visit him, and they perceiving that he was his companion, secured him also; and after having been kept in prison some days, being weak in body, it was ordered that they should be sent to England; and so they were carried in a coach-waggon to the water side, being conducted by a guard of soldiers, to protect them against the rude multitude, and brought on board a ship of war, where Caton suffered great hardship; for the seamen were so illnatured, that they would not allow him so much as a piece of sail-cloth, but he was fain to lie upon the bare boards, in very cold and stormy weather. But though thus hardly used, yet he felt his strength increase, and so experienced the mercies of God. It was in November when he arrived in London,

where he was kindly received by the brethren: after some stay there, he went to Hampshire, Surry, Sussex, and Kent.

Not long before this G, Fox came to Exeter, where James Nayler was in prison, and spoke to him by way of reproof; which Nayler slighted; though he offered to kiss G. Fox; but he unwilling to suffer this, said, since he had turned against the power of God, he could not receive his shew of kindness. It appeared by letters that the magistrates found in his pocket at Bristol, that the Quakers found fault with him, and had reproved him for his high-mindedness, before it launched out into that extravagant act which made so great a noise in the world, and hath been mixed with many untruths, and false turns. I have therefore thought it worth while to enquire narrowly into it in order to give a true relation of matters of fact.

This James Nayler was born of honest parents,* in the parish of Ardesley, near Wake-

* His father was a husbandman, and of good repute having a competent estate to live on, with industry, according to the manner of the country where he dwelt. He was educated in good English, and wrote well. About the age of twenty-two he married, and then removed into Wakefield parish, where he continued, till the wars broke out in 1641, and then went into the army, and was a soldier eight or nine years, first under the lord Fairfax, and afterwards quarter master under the major-general Lambert, *till disabled* by sickness in Scotland, he returned *home about 1649.* J. Whiting's account.

field in Yorkshire, about the year 1616. He had served in the parliament army, being quartermaster in major-general Lambert's troop in Scotland, was a member of the Independents, and afterwards in the year 1651, he entered into the communion of Quakers so called.* He was a man of excellent natural parts, and at first did acquit himself well, both in writing and among his friends, so that money came to recieve the truth by his ministry. He came to London towards the latter end of the year 1654, or beginning of 1655, and found there a meeting

* He and Thomas Goodair were convinced by G. Fox, about Wakefield, anno 1651, as also were Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Aldam, William Dewsbury and wife about this time. And in the beginning of the year following, as he was in the field at plough, meditating on the things of God, he heard a voice, bidding him go out from his kindred, and from his father's house; and had a promise given with it, that the Lord would be with him; whereupon he exceedingly rejoiced that he had heard the voice of God, whom he had professed from a child, and endeavoured to serve: and when he went home he made preparation to go; but not being obedient, the wrath of God was upon him, so that he was made a wonder, and it was thought he would have died. Afterwards being made willing, and going out with a friend, not thinking then of a journey, he was commanded to go into the west, not knowing what he was to do there; but when he came, he had given him what to declare; and so he continued, not knowing one day *what he* was to do the next; and the promise of God, *that he* would be with him, he found made good to him *every day*. Collect. of J. N's writings.

of friends, which had already been gathered in that city, by the service of Edward Burrough, and Francis Howgill; and there he preached in such an eminent manner, that many admiring his great gift, began to esteem him much above his brethren, which as it brought him no benefit, so it gave occasion of some difference in the society; and this ran so high, that some forward and inconsiderate women, of whom Martha Simmons was the chief, assumed the boldness to dispute with F. Howgill and E. Burrough openly in their preaching, and thus to disturb the meetings:* whereupon they, who were truly excellent preachers, did not fail, according to their duty, to reprove this indiscretion. But these women were so disgusted, that Martha, and another woman, went and complained to J. Nayler, to incense him against F. Howgill and E. Burrough; but this did not succeed, for he shewed himself afraid to pass judgment

* These women's practice we may suppose to be somewhat like that which gave occasion to the apostle Paul to say "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak," 1 Cor. xiv. 34. This prohibition of speaking, must be voluntary discourse, by way of reasoning or disputing, and not when they had an immediate impulse, or concern to prophesy; for the apostle in the same epistle, has defined prophecy to be speaking unto "Men to edification, exhortation and comfort," chap. xiv. 3. And he also chap. xi. made *express* mention of women's praying *and prophesying* together with the men.

upon his brethren, as they desired. Hereupon Martha fell into a passion, in a kind of moaning or weeping, and, bitterly crying out with a mournful shrill voice, said, "I looked for judgment, but behold a cry;" and with that cried aloud in a passionate lamenting manner, which so entered and pierced J. Nayler, that it smote him down into so much sorrow and sadness, that he was much dejected in spirit, or disconsolate. Fear and doubting then entered him, so that he came to be clouded in his understanding, bewildered, and at a loss in his judgment, and became estranged from his best friends, because they did not approve his conduct; insomuch, that he began to give ear to the flattering praises of some whimsical people, which he ought to have abhorred, and reproved them for. But his sorrowful fall ought to stand for a warning, even to those that are endued with great gifts, that they do not presume to be exalted, lest they also fall, but endeavour to continue in true humility, in which alone a Christian can be kept safe.

Hannah Stranger, whom I knew very well, and have reason to believe a woman of high imaginations, at this time wrote to him several very extravagant letters, calling him, the everlasting son of righteousness; Prince of Peace; *the only begotetn* son of God; the fairest of *ten thousands*, &c. In the letters of Jane

Woodcock, John Stranger, and others, were expressions of the like extravagancy: the said Hannah Stranger, Martha Simmons, and Dorcas Erbury, arrived to that height of folly, that in the prison at Exeter they kneeled before Nayler, and kissed his feet; but as to what hath been divulged concerning his committing of fornication, I never could find, though very inquisitive in the case, that he was in the least guilty thereof.* But for all that, he was already too much transported, and grew yet more exorbitant; for being released from that prison, and riding to Bristol in the beginning of November, he was accompanied by the aforesaid and other persons; and passing through the suburbs of Bristol, one Thomas Woodcock went bareheaded before him; one of the women led his horse; Dorcas, Martha, and Hannah, spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him, and the company sung, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts, Hosannah in the highest' holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel."

* As to that accusation, as if I had committed adultery with some of those women who came with us from Exeter prison, and also those who were with me at Bristol the night before I suffered there, of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me at that day both in thought, and deed, as to all women, as a little child, God is my record. Collect. of J. Nayler's writings. p. 54. See more particularly in his answer to Blome's *Fanatick History*, in the said Collect. at p. 652.

Thus these mad people sung, whilst they were walking through the mire and dirt, till they came into Bristol, where they were examined by the magistrates, and committed to prison; and not long after he was carried to London to be examined by the parliament. How it went there may be seen in the printed trial, which the parliament was pleased to publish.* I believe that J. Nayler was clouded in his understanding in all this transaction: but how grievous soever his fall was, yet it pleased God in his infinite mercy, to raise him up again, and to bring him to such sincere repentance, that (as we may see in the sequel) he abhorred not only this whole business, but also manifested his hearty sorrow,

* But the extravagancy of the sentence which that parliament passed upon him, with other circumstances give great reason to suspect the account was partially taken, and published to justify their cruelty, which is also set forth in part by way of annotation on the said trial. And (as J. Whiting says) some of his answers were innocent enough, some not clear, and some aggravated by his adversaries: some of them he denied, some he owned; they reported the worst, and more than was true in some things, adding and diminishing as they were minded; much was wanting of what he had spoken to the committee; wresting and perverting his words what they could, and endeavouring to draw words out of him, to ensnare him, and take away his life: and to shew their confusion when he was before them, they would have had him to kneel, and put off his hat to them, though a part of the charge against him was, that some kneeled to him.

in pathetical expressions, which were published, as will be shewn in its proper place.

What hath been said of the odd doings in Exeter prison, and of his riding into Bristol, was not denied by him, nor by the rest of the company, when they were examined by a committee of parliament, who made their report on the 5th of December, to which the house agreed next day. On the 16th this business, which had (not without much contradiction; for many members of the parliament did not approve the severity used against him) been treated both forenoons and afternoons, was proposed the twelfth time: which made an ingenious author say afterwards, that it was wondered at by many, what the cause might be, that this foolish business should hold so many wise men so long at work. On the 17th, after a long debate, they came to this resolution.

That James Nayler be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the Palace-yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, on Thursday next and be whipped by the hangman through the streets, from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one, on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; *and that* at the Old Exchange his tongue

be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into, and through the said city on horseback, with his face backward, and there also publicly whipt the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard till he shall be released by parliament; and during that time, be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labour.

They were long ere they could agree on the sentence; for suppose there was blasphemy committed, yet his tongue seemed not properly guilty of it, since it was not proved that blasphemous words hath been spoken by him.* Many

* At Lancaster sessions the priest got some to swear blasphemy against G. F. (which was the common accusation in those days) but he was cleared, and the priests, &c. were enraged, who thereupon sent a petition to the council of state, against G. F. and J. N. who answered the same, in a book called, "Saul's Errand to Damascus." After this, J. N. was persecuted in divers places, beaten, stoned, and cruelly used by the priests, and their rude followers, and in danger of his life. Afterward, by the instigation of the priests, he and F. Howgill were committed to Appleby jail, and tried on an indictment for blasphemy, for saying, Christ was in him, according to Col. i. 27. "Christ in you the hope of glory." He

thought it to be indeed a very severe judgment to be executed upon one whose crime seemed to proceed more from a clouded understanding, than any wilful intention of evil.

Now although several persons of different persuasions, being moved with compassion towards Nayler, as a man carried away by foolish imaginations, had offered petitions to the parliament on his behalf, yet it was resolved not to read them, till the sentence was pronounced against him.

There lived then at London, one Robert Rich, a merchant (a very bold man,) who writ a letter to the parliament, wherein he shewed what was blasphemy; on the 15th of December several copies thereof were delivered to particular members; and in that which was given to the speaker, these words were written at the bottom, "If I may have liberty of those that sit in parliament, I do here attend at their door, and am ready, out of the Scriptures of Truth, to shew, that not any thing J. Nayler hath said, or done, is blasphemy," &c.

was also another time charged with blasphemy, for asserting in a book, "Justification by the Gift of God's Righteousness, which he proved from Rom. v. and so stopt their mouths, and cleared himself: by which we may see what that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, would have made blasphemy. J. Whiting's Account.

The parliament, after judgment was concluded, resolved, that the speaker should be authorized to issue his warrants to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, the sheriff of Bristol, and governor of Bridewell, to see the said judgment put in execution: but by some it was questioned, whether it was a sufficient warrant, unless the protector concurred in the matter; but he seemed unwilling to meddle with it. The thing being thus far agreed upon, J. Nayler was brought up to the bar; when the speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, was about to pronounce the aforementioned sentence, Nayler said, he did not know his offence. To which the speaker returned, he should know his offence by his punishment. After sentence was pronounced, though J. Nayler bore the same with great patience, yet it seemed he would have spoken something, but was denied liberty; nevertheless was heard to say, with a composed mind, "I pray God he may not lay it to your charge."

The 18th of December, J. Nayler suffered part of the sentence; and after having stood full two hours with his head in the pillory, was stript, and whipt at a cart's tail, from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, and received three hundred and ten stripes; and the executioner *would have* given him one more (as he confessed *to the sheriff*,) there being three hundred and

eleven kennels, but his foot slipping, the stroke fell upon his own hand, which hurt him much. All this Nayler bore with so much patience and quietness, that it astonished many of the beholders, though his body was in a most pitiful condition: he was also much hurt with horses treading on his feet, whereon the print of the nails were seen. R. Travers, a grave person, who washed his wounds, in a certificate which was presented to the parliament, and afterwards printed, says, "There was not the space of a man's nail free from stripes and blood, from his shoulders near to his waist, his right arm sorely striped, his hands so much hurt with cords, that they bled, and were swelled: the blood and wounds of his back did very little appear at first sight, by reason of abundance of dirt that covered them, till it was washed off." Nay, his punishment was so severe, that some judged his sentence would have been more mild, if it had been present death: and it seemed indeed that there was a party, who not being able to prevail so far in parliament as to have him sentenced to death, yet strove to the utmost of their power to make him sink under the weight of his punishment: for the 20th of December was the time appointed for executing the other part of his sentence, viz. boring through his tongue, and stigmatizing in his forehead;

but by reason of the most cruel whipping, he was brought to such a low ebb, that many persons of note, moved with compassion, presented petitions to the parliament on his behalf, who respited his farther punishment for one week.

During this interval, several persons presented another petition, in which are these words :

"Your moderation and clemency in respiting the punishment of J. Nayler, in consideration of his illness of body, hath refreshed the hearts of many thousands in these cities, altogether unconcerned in his practice : wherefore we most humbly beg your pardon that are constrained to appear before you in such a suit, (not daring to do otherwise) that you would remit the remaining part of your sentence against the said J. Nayler, leaving him to the Lord, and to such gospel remedies as he hath sanctified ; and we are persuaded you will find such a course of love and forbearance more effectual to reclaim ; and will leave a zeal of your love and tenderness upon our spirits,"

"And we shall pray."

This petition being presented at the bar of the house, by about one hundred persons, on the behalf of the whole, was accordingly read and debated by them ; but not being likely to produce the desired effect, the petitioners thought

themselves in duty and conscience bound to address the protector for remitting the remaining part of the sentence; who thereupon sent a letter to the parliament, which occasioned some debate in the house. But the day for executing the remaining part of the sentence drawing near, the petitioners made a second address to the protector. It was indeed very remarkable, that so many inhabitants that were not of the society of those called Quakers, shewed themselves so much concerned in this business; but to me it seems to have proceeded merely from compassion towards the person of J. Nayler, whom they regarded as one that was rather fallen into error through inconsiderateness, than to have been guilty of wilful blasphemy: for then he would not have deserved so much pity.

But notwithstanding all these humble petitions, the public preachers it seems prevailed so much with Cromwell, that he could not resolve to put a stop to the intended execution; for five of these ministers, whom I find named thus, Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds came on the 24th of December, by order from the parliament (as it was said) to Nayler, to speak with him concerning the things for which he was detained, and would not permit either friend or other to be present in the room, though a certain impartial or neutral person *desired it earnestly*, but it was denied him; ye

after the conference, coming into the prison, he asked Nayler what had been the issue of it? Who told him that he told those ministers, that he saw they had an intent to make him suffer (though innocent) as an evil-doer; and therefore had denied any to be present that might be indifferent judges betwixt them and him; and that therefore he should not say any thing, unless what passed was written down, and a copy thereof given him to keep, or left with the jailor signed by them. This was by them consented to, and so they propounded several questions unto him, and took his answers in writing. He farther told, that they asked him if he was sorry for those blasphemies that he was guilty of, and whether he did recant and renounce the same; to which his answer was, "What blasphemies, name them:" but they not being able to instance in any particular, he continued, "Would you have me recant and renounce you know not what?" Then they asked him, whether he did believe there was a Jesus Christ; to which he answered, he did believe there was, and that Jesus had taken up his dwelling in his heart and spirit, and for the testimony of him he now suffered. Then one of the preachers said, "But I believe in a Jesus that never was in any man's heart:" To which Nayler returned, *he knew no* such Christ, for the Christ he wit*nessed filled* heaven and earth, and dwelt in the

hearts of the believers. Next they demanded of him, why he suffered those women to worship and adore him; to which he replied, "Bowing to the creature I deny; but if they beheld the power of Christ, wherever it is, and bow to it, he had nothing by which he might resist that, or gainsay it:"* and withal said to the ministers, "Have you thus long professed the Scriptures, and do you now stumble at what they hold forth?" Whereupon they desiring one instance of scripture wherein such a practice was held forth, he answered, "What think you of the Shunamite's falling down at the feet of Eli-

* The most that I find in his examination, either at Bristol, or London, before the committee of parliament, as published from their report, was, that he owned Christ in him, but never that he was Christ; and that he took the honour given, not as to himself, but to Christ in him; which yet is more than any man ought to receive, for when the beloved disciple John fell at the angel's feet to worship him, he [though an angel] said unto him, "See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus, worship God," Rev. xix. 10. And if an angel ought not, surely no mortal man ought to receive or accept it, on any pretence whatsoever; though falling down or kneeling to one another, is too frequently used by some other people, and if it is not to their person, it must be to their function, quality, or character in the church: but that he received it to himself, as a creature, he utterly denied. Trial, page 15. And that there could not be a more abominable thing, than to take from the Creator, and give to the creature, &c. J. Whiting.

sha, and bowing before him? As also divers others in scripture spoken of, as that of Abigail to David, and that of Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel:" Upon which they pausing a while, said at length, "That was but a civil act or acknowledgment:" to which he returned, "So you might interpret the act of those women also, if your eye were not evil, seeing the outward action is one and the same:" and he perceiving that they were seeking to wrest words from him to their own purpose said, "How soon have you forgotten the works of the bishops, who are now found in the same, seeking to ensnare the innocent." Whereupon they rose up, and with bitterness of spirit burnt what they had written before, and so left him with some bemoaning expressions; and when they were departing, he desired of them, that the parliament would send him such questions in writing as they desired satisfaction to, and give him leave to return his answers in writing also.

By this it seems that Nayler, though still under some cloud, yet was a little more clear in his understanding than before; but he was encountered by fierce enemies, and therefore the execution of his sentence was not stopped, but performed on the 27th of December. Robert Rich, that forward man of whom something hath been mentioned already, was this day at the parliament door, from eight in the morning

till about eleven, crying variously to the parliament men, as they passed by. To one whom he judged to be innocent, he said, "He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, for God is love:" and to another whom he thought to be swayed by envy, he said, "He that hates his brother is a manslayer, and he that hates his brother is a murderer." Some then thought that Nayler would not have suffered any farther punishment, because many honourable persons had attended the parliament and the protector on his behalf: but Rich knowing how the case stood, told the people, that the innocent was going to suffer: and to some of the parliament men he cried, that he was clear from the blood of all men; and that he desired them to be so too. Then he went towards the Exchange, and got on the pillory, and held Nayler by the hand while he was burned on the forehead, and bored through the tongue; and was not a little affected with Nayler's suffering, for he licked his wounds, thereby as it seems to allay the pain; and he led him by the hand from off the pillory. It was very remarkable that notwithstanding there might be many thousands of people, yet they were very quiet, and few heard to revile him, or seen to throw any thing at him: and when he was burning, the people both before and behind him, and on both sides, with one consent stood bareheaded, as seeming generally

moved with compassion and goodwill towards him.

Many now rejoiced, seeing how some few among the Quakers, as Rich, and the like sort of people did side with Nayler, whilst the Quakers generally spoke against him and his doings; for those who hoped to see the downfall of them, signified not obscurely, that now things went as they would have, since the Quakers (as they said) were divided among themselves. But time shewed that this pretended division soon came to an end, and those diviners and guessers overshot themselves. How it went with the execution of Nayler's sentence at Bristol, I am not informed;* but by a letter of one Richard Snead, an ancient man of about eighty years, I have understood that Nayler had written a letter to the magistrates of Bristol, wherein he had disapproved, and penitently condemned his carriage there.† After this he was brought to

* He was sent to Bristol, and there whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge, up High-Street to the middle of Broad-street, all which he bore with wonderful patience, as related by an eye-witness, and then sent by Tower-lane the back way to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bridewell, London, according to the sentence. J. Whiting.

† After he was set at liberty, he went to Bristol, where *in* a public meeting he made confession of his [offence, as *to his former fall*, and declared in so powerful a manner, *as tendered* and broke the meeting into tears, so that

Bridewell, London, (as sentenced) where he continued prisoner about two years, during which confinement he came to a true repentance of his transgression; and having got the use of pen and ink, wrote several books and papers, condemning his error, which were published in print; and after his release he published several others, one of which by way of recantation, runs thus:

"Glory to God Almighty, who ruleth in the heavens, and in whose hands are all the kingdoms of the earth; who raiseth up and casteth down at his will: who hath ways to confound the exaltation of man, and to chastise his children, and to make man to know himself to be as grass before him; whose judgments are above the highest of men, and his pity reacheth the deepest misery; and the arm of his mercy is underneath to lift up the prisoner out of the pit, and to save such as trust in him from the great destruction which vain man, through his folly, brings upon himself: who hath delivered my soul from darkness, and made way for my freedom out of the prison house, and ransomed me from the great captivity; who divides the sea before him, and removes the mountains out of

there were few dry eyes (as related by some then present) and *many* were bowed in their minds and reconciled *to him. J. W's account.*

his way, in the day when he takes upon him to deliver the oppressed out of the hands of him that is too mighty for him in the earth: let his name be exalted for ever, and let all flesh fear before him; whose breath is life to his own, but a consuming fire to his adversary.

"And to the Lord Jesus Christ be everlasting dominion upon earth, and his kingdom above all the powers of darkness; even that Christ of whom the Scriptures declare, which was, and is, and is to come, the light of the world to all generations; of whose coming I testify with the rest of the children of light, begotten of the immortal seed, whose truth and virtue now shine in the world, unto the righteousness of eternal life, and the Saviour of all that believe therein; who hath been the rock of my salvation, and his Spirit hath given quietness and patience to my soul in deep affliction, even for his name's sake; praises for ever.

"But condemned for ever be all those false worships with which any have idolized my person in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above; all their casting off their clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions which did any ways tend to dishonour the Lord, *or draw* the minds of any from the measure of *Christ Jesus* in themselves, to look at flesh, *which is* as grass, or to ascribe that to the visi-

ble, which belongs to Christ Jesus; all that I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath been any ways blasphemed through me, in the time of temptation; or the spirits of any people grieved, that truly love the Lord Jesus, throughout the whole world, of what sort soever. This offence I confess, which hath been sorrow of heart, that the enemy of man's peace in Christ, should get this advantage in the night of my trial, to stir up wrath and offences in the creation of God; a thing the simplicity of my heart did not intend, the Lord knows; who in his endless love hath given me power over it, to condemn it; and also that letter which was sent me to Exeter by John Stranger, when I was in prison, with these words: Thy name shall be no more James Nayler, but Jesus. This I judge to be written from the imaginations, and a fear struck me when I first saw it, and so I put it in my pocket close, not intending any should see it; which they finding on me, spread it abroad, which the simplicity of my heart never owned. So this I deny also, that the name of Christ Jesus was received instead of James Nayler, or ascribed to him; for that name is to the promised seed to all generations; and he that hath the Son, hath the name, which is life and power, the salvation and the unction, into which name all the children of light are baptized. So the *name of Christ* I confess before men, which

name to me hath been a strong tower in the night and in the day: and this is the name of Christ Jesus, which I confess, the Son and the Lamb, the promised seed, where he speaks in male and female: but who hath not this in himself, hath not life, neither can have by idolizing my person, or the person of any flesh, but in whom the heir is born, and hath spoken, or doth speak; there he must not be denied the mouth to speak by, who is head over all, and in all his own, God blessed for ever.

"And all those ranting wild spirits, which then gathered about me in that time of darkness; and all their wild actions and wicked words against the honour of God, and his pure spirit and people; I deny that bad spirit, the power and the works thereof; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil spirit in any to arise, I take shame to myself justly; having formerly had power over that spirit, in judgment and discerning, wherever it was; which darkness came over me through want of watchfulness and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligently minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous spirit. So the adversary got advantage, who ceases not to seek to devour; and being taken captive from the true light, I was walking in the night where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all my mercies

had not rescued me, I had perished, for I was as one appointed to death and destruction, and there was none could deliver me. And this I confess, that God may be justified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end, who did not forsake his captive in the night, even when his Spirit was daily provoked and grieved; but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confess to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day: yet were there many things formed against me in that day to take away my life, and bring scandal upon the truth, of which I am not guilty at all; as that accusation, as if I had committed adultery with some of those women who came with us from Exeter prison, and also those who were with me at Bristol the night before I suffered there; of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me in that day both in thought and deed, as to all women, as a child God is my record. And this I mention in particular (hearing of some who still cease not to reproach therewith God's truth and people) that the mouth of enmity might be shut from evil speaking, though this toucheth not my conscience.

"And that report, as though I had raised Dorcas Erbury from the dead carnally, this I deny also, and condemn that testimony, to be *out of the truth*; though that power that quick-

ens the dead, I deny not, which is the
eternal life. And this I give forth, that it may
go as far as the offence against the spirit of
truth hath gone abroad, that all burdens may
be taken off from the truth, and the truth clear-
ed thereby, and the true light, and all that
walk therein, and the deeds of darkness be con-
demned; and that all that are in darkness, may
not act in the night, but stay upon God, who
dwells in the light, who with the workers of
iniquity hath no fellowship; which had I done,
when first darkness came upon me, and not
been led by others, I had not run against that
rock to be broken, which so long had borne me,
and of whom I had so largely drank, and of
which I now drink in measure; to whom be
the glory of all, and to him must every tongue
confess as Judge and Saviour, God over all,
blessed for ever."

The author adding to this an exhortation to
the reader, how to behave himself, if at any
time he came to be tempted to sin; and also
warning not to rely too much on gifts, wisdom
and knowledge, concludes thus:

"This I have learned in the deeps, and
secret, when I was alone; and now declare op
ly in the day of thy mercy, O Lord; glor
the Highest for evermore, who hath thus fa
praise his righteousness and his m
ible, pure God, over

fear, obedience, and glory for evermore. Amen.
"James Nayler."

He writ another paper, wherein he related at large, how by unwatchfulness he came to fall, after having once obtained much victory over the power of Satan, by the grace of God, when he daily walked humbly in his fear, having for some years laboured faithfully in the ministry of the gospel. But what is remarkable, though wherever he did use to come, he went with great boldness through all opposition, yet coming to the city of London, he entered into it with the greatest fear that ever he came into any place with, in spirit foreseeing (as he relates) somewhat to befal him there, but not knowing what it might be: "Yet had I, (thus he saith) the same presence and power as before, into whatever place or service I was led of the spirit; in that life I never returned without victory in Christ Jesus, the Lord thereof. But not minding in all things to stand single and low to the motions of that endless life, by it to be led in all things within and without; but giving way to the reasoning part, as to some things which in themselves had no seeming evil, by little and little it drew out my mind after trifles, vanities, and persons, which took the affectionate part, by which my mind was drawn out from the constant watch, and

pure fear, into which I once was begotten.——— Thus having in a measure lost my own guide, and darkness being come upon me, I sought a place where I might have been alone to weep and cry before the Lord, that his face I might find, and my condition recover: but then my adversary, who had long waited his opportunity, had got in, and bestirred himself every way, so that I could not be hid; and divers messages came to me, some true, some false, as I have seen since. So I knowing some to be true, to wit, how I had lost my condition, with this I let in the false message also; and so letting go that little of the true light which I had yet remaining in myself, I gave up myself wholly to be led by others: whose work was then to divide me from the children of light, which was done; though much was done by divers of them to prevent it, and in bowels of tender love many laboured to have stayed me with them. And after I was led out from them, the Lord God of my life sent divers of his servants with his word after me, for my return; all which was rejected; yea, the provocation of that time of temptation was exceeding great against the pure love of God; yet he left me not; for after I had given myself under that power, and darkness was above, my adversary so prevailed, that all things were turned and so perverted against my right seeing, hearing or

understanding; only a secret hope and faith I had in my God whom I had served, that he would bring me through it, and to the end of it, and that I should again see the day of my redemption from under it all; and this quieted my soul in my greatest tribulation."

The author moreover seriously exhorting others, who also might come to fall into great temptation, concludes with these words:

"He who hath saved my soul from death thus far, and lifted my feet up out of the pit, even to him be immortal glory for ever, and let every troubled soul trust in him; for his mercy endureth for ever.

"James Nayler."

That he came to a perfect recovery from his having been in a maze, seems to appear plainly by the following thanksgiving to God for his mercies, which he published after his fall.

"It is in my heart to praise thee, O my God; let me never forget thee, what thou hast been to me in the night, by thy presence in the day of trial, when I was beset in darkness, when I was cast but as a wandering bird, when I was assaulted with strong temptations, then thy presence in secret did preserve me, and in a low state I felt thee near me: when the floods sought to sweep me away, thou didst set a compass for

them how far they should pass over: when my way was through the sea, and when I passed under the mountains, there was thou present with me: when the weight of the hills was upon me, thou upheldest me, else I had sunk under the earth. When I was as one altogether helpless, when tribulation or anguish was upon me day and night, and the earth without foundation; when I went on the way of wrath, and passed by the gates of hell; when all comforts stood afar off, and he that is mine enemy had dominion; when I was cast into the pit, and was as one appointed to death; when I was between the millstones, and as one crushed with the weight of his adversary; as a father thou wast with me, and the rock of thy presence. When the mouths of lions roared against me, and fear took hold of my soul in the pit, then I called upon thee in the night, and my cries were strong before thee daily, who answeredst me from thy habitation, and deliveredst me from thy dwelling-place; saying, I will set thee above all thy fears, and lift up thy feet above the head of oppression. I believed and was strengthened, and thy word was salvation. Thou didst fight on my part when I wrestled with death; and when darkness would have shut me up, then thy light shone about me, and thy banner was over my head: when my work was in the furnace, and as I passed through the fire, by

thee I was not consumed, though the flames ascended above my head. When I beheld the dreadful visions, and was amongst the fiery spirits, thy faith stayed me, else through fear I had fallen. I saw thee, and believed, so the enemy could not prevail.

When I look back into thy works, I am astonished, and see no end of thy praises: glory, glory to thee saith my soul, and let my heart be ever filled with thanksgiving. Whilst thy works remain, they shall shew forth thy power. Then didst thou lay the foundation of the earth, and lead me under the waters, and in the deep didst thou shew me wonders, and thy forming of the world. By thy hand thou ledst me in safety, till thou shewedst me the pillars of the earth: then did the heavens shower down; they were covered with darkness, and the powers were shaken, and thy glory descended: thou filledst the lower parts of the earth with gladness, and the springs of the valley were opened, and thy showers descended abundantly, so the earth was filled with virtue. Thou madest thy plant to spring, and the thirsty soul became as a watered garden: then didst thou lift me out of the pit, and set me forth in the sight of my enemies. Thou proclaimedst liberty to the captives, and calledst mine acquaintance near me: they to whom I had been a wonder, looked upon me, and in thy love I obtained favour in

those who had forsaken me. Then did gladness swallow up sorrow, and I forsook all my troubles; and I said, how good is it that man be proved in the night, that he may know his folly, that every mouth may become silent in thy hand, until thou makest man known to himself, and hast slain the boaster, and shewed him the vanity that vexeth thy spirit.

"James Nayler."

This plainly appears to be a poetical piece; for the author all along makes use of allegorical sayings, to signify the great anguish and tribulation he had been under.

The hatred of his enemies was the fiercer, because he had undisguisedly and clearly demonstrated their duty to the rulers, and preachers, and lawyers; for in a certain book, published by him in the year 1653, to exhort men to repentance, he writes thus to the rulers:

"O you rulers of the people, who are set up to judge between a man and his neighbour, ought you not to judge for God, and not for man? Ought not you to be men fearing God, and hating covetousness, not judging for gifts or rewards? Ought not you to countenance and encourage them that do well, and be a terror to *them which* do evil? Justice is so. And he that *is of God*, and bears his sword, turns the edge

of it against all sin and wickedness, injustice and oppression; and so sets up justice and judgment in the gates, that the poor may be delivered from him that is too mighty for him, and that the cause of the fatherless, widow, and stranger may not fall, but hath an ear open to the cries of the poor and helpless, who have but little money, and few friends; that a poor man may not be afraid to appear in a good cause, against the greatest oppression in the nation."

"And ought not you to judge without respect of persons, or without seeking respect to your own persons, worship or honour from men, but only to advance justice, righteousness and equity and righteousness, which is of God, so that you may be honoured by the Lord; for true humility is honour, and he that honours the Lord, him he will honour; and such have been honoured in all ages, though they never sought it from men."

This and much more he wrote to the rulers. And to the preachers thus.

"And you who say you are the teachers of the nation, how long will it be ere you look at your own ways? Is not all manner of filthiness amongst you, which you should lead the people out of? Is there not among you drunkenness, *gluttony, whoredom*, and sporting, sitting down

to eat and to drink, and rising up to play: swearing, lying, backbiting, false accusing, railing, slandering, contention, strife and envy? Yea, are not the best of you given to pride and covetousness, which is idolatry: fulness of bread and abundance of idleness? Are not you hirelings, and teach for the fleece? Do not you contend for money with your own hearers, and sue them at law for it; yea, although they cannot satisfy your demands, without sinning against the light in their own conscience, and so sin against God? are you not bitter and persecutors of any that come to discover your lewdness, crying out to the magistrate to uphold you in your beastly ways, and to stop the mouths of all those whom God hath sent to witness against you? And many more works of this nature are amongst you, which the pure all-seeing eye of God hath shewed unto his people, to be among you, and therefore it is that they come out from you, lest they partake with you of your sins and plagues. But are you not blind leaders of the blind, when you neither see these to be the works of darkness, nor those that follow you. Wo unto you that devour souls for money and gain, the day of your account is at hand. O repent, the blood of souls is upon you," &c.

The lawyers in the same writing had a stroke *also, thus.*

"And you lawyers, ought not you to plead the cause of equity, between man and man for equity sake, without respect to yourselves or others, but only to truth itself; that a just cause may be owned in whomsoever it concerns? But is not the justest cause sure to fall, if the party have not money to satisfy your demands; which are many times very unreasonable? And you who should instruct people in the ways of truth, and peace, do not you by your wisdom teach them lies, and strife? Do not you advise your plaintiffs, as you call them, to declare in bills, things that are not true, and make small offences seem very great by false glosses? For say you, we may declare what we will, and prove what we can; so that you, and they whom you act for, know before-hand, that scarce one thing of ten can be proved, neither is true? Is this the way to make up the breach, and preserve peace and truth amongst people? O miserable fall from God, when that law which should before preserve in peace, is used to aggravate offences beyond truth, and so make differences greater. And do not you delight to fish in troubled waters; and the greater dissention amongst the people, the more is your gain? Are not your purses filled, and your estates raised in the ruins of the people? And are not those laws which ought to be used to *preserve people* from oppression, by abusing

made the undoing of whole families, impoverishing towns and countries? The law, as it is now used, is scarce serviceable for any other end, but for the envious man, who hath much money to revenge himself of his poor neighbours, which, may be, never did him wrong. Is there any appearing for the poor against the rich, although his cause be just, but by deceit, delays, and expences, the remedy is worse than the disease?"

Much more he wrote to the lawyers, to stir them up to do justice, and then addressed himself to the people in general, in these words.

"And you people of the nation, that have seen the hand of God against the prince and people for these and the like abominations, and you yourselves are escaped, as brands plucked out of the fire? have you at all turned to him who hath smitten you? Or are you bettered by correction? Or have you made your peace with the Almighty? Although you have seen war, and the sword reaching to the very soul, are you not every one to your own power, gathering fuel to that fire which hath been burning in the land, and hath consumed thousands; which should have been as a warning unto you who are escaped, to return to the Lord from the evil of your doings? But are not

you still making the breach wider between God and the nation, as though you were left for no other end, but to fill up the measure of iniquity that is yet behind, that the just God may sweep the land with the besom of destruction? O when will you cease to provoke the Lord by your sins? Where is your Redeemer you have professed so long in words and forms? Can you witness him in your works? And what hath he redeemed you from? For saith he, "Why call you me Lord, and do not the things which I say?" Is he your Lord, and you servants to all manner of filthiness? And notwithstanding that you have seen his wonders in the nation, yet do not you exceed all that ever went before you, in pride, covetousness, drunkenness, swearing, envying, quarrelling, backbiting, slandering, false accusing, self-love, and deceit in all manner of merchandize and trading; false weights and measures, sayings, protestings one towards another, in your bargaining, speaking things that are not true, and hereby to over-reach your brethren, and get dishonest gain. How many false oaths, and idle words are spent about every bargain in your markets, and open streets, without blushing, or being ashamed? Yea, it is able to break the hearts of any who know the pure God, to know it, and hear it; for it is come to such a height of deceit, that none can trust his brother; for lying, swearing, and forswearing

abound in the nation; and yet you will profess yourselves to be the members of Jesus Christ: and had Jesus Christ ever such a body as this? Nay, all that are members of him, are of one heart, and one soul.

"And you talk of a communion of saints: had ever the saints such a communion as this, to defraud one another for money; and profess a Redeemer, and are servants to the devil, and your own lusts, in all the motions and temptations thereof, and are led captive at his will? But what redemption is this you witness, so long as sin, the partition wall, is between God and you, and stands still whole in your wills; you will be drunk, swear, lie, and commit adultery, dissemble, and satisfy your lusts in all things, and say we are redeemed; yet commit all these abominations, and live in them, under a pretence of a profession, and going to the idols temple once a week. Did ever Jesus Christ redeem such a people, or dwell in such a people? Those whom he hath redeemed, he hath freed from the servitude of sin, by separating them from sin, and reconciling them to God, from whence they are fallen by sin; for God and sin cannot dwell in one. And to such he saith, "Be ye holy, for I am holy:" and as he is the "Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world:" now see, how are your sins taken away, when the kingdom of darkness doth wholly rule in you,

and leads you into works and ways of darkness? Are you reconciled to God, and have you fellowship with him? Are not you yet strangers to him, and worship an unknown God? "For he that commits sin, hath not seen him, neither known him," and so worship they know not what, in formal and superstitious worships."

Thus J. Nayler wrote: but I now break off that I may not be tedious.

So zealous was he before his fall; which was wholly of another nature than the common sins and transgressions; for by the wiles of satan, he accepted the idolatrous honour that some persons gave him, instead of which he ought to have reproved them: and thus was he so stupified in his understanding, that he imagined the bowing and kneeling before him, was not done on account of his person, but for Christ: and with this false opinion he blinded himself for a time, till it pleased God to pity him, and to give him light again, after he had suffered such an unheard-of punishment for his transgression, as is already related in this history. And because his freedom of speech against unrighteousness of all sorts, and his preaching, ran very sharp upon all, several were angry with him, became his enemies, and took occasion from his crime to revenge themselves fiercely upon *him, by making* him suffer a cruel punish-

ment, which was no ways proportionable to his transgression. But herein barbarous cruelty played its part so much, that the soberest inhabitants did detest it, and therefore a petition was presented to the parliament, desiring a discharge of part of the punishment, of which, the first subscriber was colonel Scroop, who was governor of Bristol.

While he lay in the house of correction, he wrote several papers to manifest his regret and repentance for his crime; some of which are already inserted in this history. Since, is come to my hand a letter to his friends, being written with his own hand, to this purport:

"Dear brethren,

"My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God's truth and people, and especially to you, who in dear love followed me, seeking me in faithfulness to God, which I rejected, being bound wherein I could not come forth, till God's hand brought me, to whose love I now confess; and I beseech you, forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day. God knows my sorrow for it, since I see it, that ever I should offend that of God in any, or reject his counsel; and now that paper you have *seen* lies much upon me, and I greatly fear *farther to* offend, or do amiss, whereby the

innocent truth, or people of God should suffer, or that I should disobey therein.

"Unless the Lord himself keep you from me, I beseech you let nothing else hinder your coming to me, that I might have your help in the Lord: in the mercies of Christ Jesus this I beg of you, as if it was your own case, let me not be forgotten of you.

"And I entreat you, speak to Henry Clarke, or whoever else I have most offended; and by the power of God, and in the spirit of Christ Jesus, I am willing to confess the offence, that God's love may arise in all hearts, as before, if it be his will, who only can remove what stands in the way; and nothing thereof do I intend to cover; God is witness herein.

He wrote also several other confessions of his faults about this time, in one of which, amongst others, I find these words;

"And concerning you, the tender plants of my Father, who have suffered through me, or with me, in what the Lord hath suffered to be done with me, in this time of great trial and temptation; the Almighty God of love, who hath numbered every sigh, and put every tear in his bottle, reward it a thousand fold into your bosoms, in the day of your need, when *you shall come to* be tried and tempted; and in

the mean-time fulfil your joy with his love, which you seek after. The Lord knows, it was never in my heart to cause you to mourn, whose suffering is my greatest sorrow that ever yet came upon me, for you are innocent herein."

When he had finished that letter, and set his name, he wrote as follows:

"I beseech you (all that can) to receive it, even as you would be received of the Lord; and for the rest, the Lord give me patience to suffer, till he make up the breach."

While he was in Bridewell, he wrote to the parliament, who had punished him as a blasphemer, to let them know what his true opinion concerning Jesus Christ was.

"Christ Jesus, (the Immanuel, of whose sufferings the Scriptures declare) him alone I confess before men; for whose sake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and be found in him, and not in myself, whose life and virtue I find daily manifest in my mortal body (which is my eternal joy and hope of glory) whom alone I seek to serve in spirit, soul and body, night and day, (according to the measure of grace working in

me) that in me he may be glorified, whether by life or death; and for his sake I suffer all things, that he alone may have the glory of my change, whose work alone it is in me: even to that eternal Spirit be glory, and to the Lamb for ever.

"But to ascribe this name, power, or virtue, to James Nayler, (or to that which had a beginning, and must return to dust) or for that to be exalted, or worshipped, to me is great idolatry, and with the Spirit of Christ Jesus in me it is condemned; which spirit leads to lowliness, meekness, and long-suffering.

"So having an opportunity given (with readiness) I am willing in the fear of God the Father, (in honour to Christ Jesus, and to take off all offences from every simple heart) this to declare to all the world, as the truth of Christ is in me, without guile or deceit, daily finding it to be my work to seek peace in truth with all men in that spirit.

"James Nayler."

After this, hearing that some had wronged him about that which he had spoken to the committee of the parliament, and understanding how men had perverted his words, he wrote a paper, declaring himself farther concerning his belief of Christ, and his sufferings, and death, &c. *Also he complained* of things that some had

published, under the title of James Nayler's recantation, wherein they had much perverted him; and he declared,

"And as touching the printing of that paper (called J N's recantation) it was not done by me, nor with my knowledge in the least, nor do I yet at all know the man that hath done it; but out of the truth and against the truth he hath done it, and for evil towards me, whoever it was; the Lord God of my life who hath kept me alive in all distress, turn it for good, and forgive the evil: and though he that hath done it, hath not done it in truth, nor in love to it, yet what of truth there is in the paper, I shall own, as stands on truth's behalf; for thus it was, that after I was put into the hole at Bridewell, I heard of many wild actions done by a sort of people who pretended that they owned me; and these were earnestly stirred up at that day, with much violence, and many unseemly actions, to go into the meetings of the people of the Lord called Quakers, on purpose to hinder their peaceable meetings; and yet would take that holy and pure name of God and Christ, frequently in their mouths, whereby the name of the Lord was much dishonoured, and his pure spirit grieved, and much disorder they caused in many places of the nation, to the dishonour of Christ Jesus, for which I felt wrath from God; which when I understood that they had any strength through

me, I used all the means I could to declare against that evil spirit, which under the name of God and Christ, was against God and Christ, his truth and people; and something I did give forth about a year and a half since, in denial of these spirits, which it seems to me, he that hath done this, hath got a sight of, and hath added to it the thoughts of his own heart, and so hath brought out this darkness, that people know not what to make of it.

"Therefore, so far as it testifies against those unclean ranting spirits, and all the actions wherein the holy name of God hath been dishonoured, and his spirit grieved, so far I own it; but in that it is turned as though I denied the Lord Jesus Christ, and his truth, which hath called me out of the world, or his people whom he hath called into light, in that I own it not; for in the patience and tribulation of Christ Jesus, and with those that have the power this day to testify therein, against all the evils of this present world, I am one in heart and soul to the utmost of my strength, till the coming of the Lord Jesus over all; and the throne of meekness and truth, be set on the top of enmity and deceit; in which faith and power I am given up to live or die, suffer or rejoice, as God will, even so be it, without murmuring.

"James Nayler."

This is certain, that James Nayler came to very great sorrow, and deep humiliation of mind; and therefore, because God forgives the transgressions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more; so could James Nayler's friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the lost sheep into their society. He having afterwards obtained his liberty, behaved himself as became a Christian, honest, and blameless in conversation; and patiently bore the reproach of his former crimes.

When King Charles the second had ascended the throne, one Richard Blome published a book entitled, The Fanatick History, which was said to be published with the approbation of orthodox divines (so called) and dedicated by him to the king. This book struck chiefly against the Quakers, and was stuffed with a multitude of lying stories, and the fall of J. Nayler was not concealed in it. He being then alive, took up the pen and answered the falsities contained in it, relating to himself: and because R. Blome in his dedication, said, "That if his majesty put not forth his royal hand of power suddenly to restrain us, we are so numerous, and seducing, that we shall (in a little time) diffuse our poison over the better part of his *king*dom, which none but a regal authority can *stifle*."

"*I* say then, what is become of your spiritual

weapons? Have not your teachers told people of the strength of truth, and the power of godliness? Have you lost both (may wisdom say) and run you now to the arm of flesh, to get errors (as you call them) stifled or else your hope is lost, and your faith fails you? Did any of Christ's ministers leave their spiritual weapons, to turn to the arm of flesh, or a carnal weapon to stop seducers? I say, no. This they never did: but with spiritual weapons they wrestled, and overcame spiritual wickedness, and with them cut down heresies, blasphemies, and false worships, and cleared the churches of Christ of them, and drove them down before them in the world; for none could resist the spirit by which they spoke, of all the false priests, and false worshippers; but being put to the worst, they cried (as you do) to rulers and people, Help us, or all will be overrun: for they that turn the world upside down are come hither: (mind your cry.) And then the rude multitude ran on heaps upon them, and made tumults often, and fell upon them with staves and fists, and assaulted the houses that entertained them, as you do, and so haled them before rulers, who took their part therein, and put them in prison, and often whipped them; unless it were some that were so noble, as not to heed the cry of the multitude; but would hear their cause, and give them *leave to speak*, before they would sentence

them that were accused. And this was the nobility of heathen kings and rulers; and do not you seek to make England's rulers worse than they? Beware lest heathens rise up in the day of judgment against them who are called Christians, and condemn them.

"And in this your cry for help, against so contemptible a people (as you count them) you (like silly women) do but discover your weakness and worthlessness; and if God open the eyes of king Charles he will see it. What! have you preached and wrestled yourselves out of all hope and faith, that either you must have sudden help from him, or all is lost and overrun? Surely it may be said, you have been bad watchmen, and idle shepherds, who have lost all, if sudden help come not from another hand. Now if any had come against you with carnal weapons, then had you had some excuse in crying to the earthly powers; but in that nothing but spirit comes against spirit, and yet you have lost the day. This doth clearly manifest, that the power of God you have not in you, but have lost the kingdom of the Most High, and so are become unreasonable men, who would have two weapons against one, and another to do your work for you, and yet are unwilling to forego your wages; yea this advantage you have had divers years, but have not prevailed therewith.

"And whereas thou sayest thy book is of

great consequence; and so thou presumest to make king Charles the patron of it: and then askest pardon for thy presumption when thou hast done.

"I say thou hast need: the substance of thy book being made up of false accusations, gathered up out of books formerly written against us, which have been disproved by answers several times over; and to these thou hast added some new accusations, as false as the old, and spied out the failings of some few, who have mourned before God, that ever they should sin, and give occasion to the enemy of God so to blaspheme. And many things which were done and spoken by others, who are not of us, nor ever were: and of this is thy book made up, as any may see who read it, and our several answers to the charges therein, many of them of several years standing, against these false accusations, which have most of them been printed over and over, and presented to the former powers that have risen, and as often answered: so there needed no more to be said, than hath been, were it not for the sake of some who may yet be strangers to your way of dealing towards us, under every power that hath been. Now discretion will say, that to make another man the father of such a work, to which he is a stranger (but especially a king) is presump-

tion indeed, rashness and folly, and needs a pardon.

"And whereas you now say, that none but a regal authority can stifle; it is true, you have tried parliaments and protectors (as you called them) and parliaments again; and to make them then work for you, your priests used these arguments to them, (to wit) That in the late wars they had exposed lives, liberties, estates, and relations, with all other personal advantages, in maintaining the just proceedings of parliaments, and from them you then claimed our stifling, as the price of your prayers, purses, hazards, losses, banishment, and blood, as may be read in the Westmoreland petition against us, which thou hast printed in pages 197 and 198. And was not this power, that which thou then called the common enemy, in the same petition, page 200, which now you cry to, and would put him upon that work against us now, as defender of your faith, &c. Ah! faithless generation, have you been to God and man, may you not be ashamed of this work, to print it, and send it to king Charles, and call him to defend it, and patronize it: how hath envy bereaved you of your reasonableness? Shall he who defends thee defend either faith or truth? But this is that you may cover yourselves with your shame and envy, that both king and people, and parliaments, may see what a generation you are, that

will run under any power to get your bloody ends: but indeed true to none; for if it was true, that you were so faithful to that parliament, with your prayers, purses, and blood, as there you plead, then is your faith but new, which now you would have defended; but if not true, then how great deceivers and how little to be trusted, or defended, in your cruel designs.

"The king that faithfully judges the poor, his throne shall be established for ever. But, if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked," Prov. xxix. 12, 14.

"And to thee, who hath set forth this book of mischief, I say with the Scriptures, "Lay not wait, O wicked man, against the dwelling of the righteous, spoil not his resting place. For a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again; but the wicked shall fall into mischief," Prov. xxiv. 15, 16. See also Mich. vii. 8

"J. N."

In answer to the book.

"The day is come that the Scripture is fulfilled, which the Lord spoke by his prophet, Isa. xliv. 25. That he will make the diviners mad; and that the prophets shall be ashamed, every one of his vision, Zech. xiii. 4. The which *doth now evidently* appear, and their folly is

made manifest unto all, that will see and
it, according to 2 Tim. iii. 9. And is
manifest madness and folly in them, c
thodox and divines, to present unto th
their packet of lies, which have been
years told over, and so long since di
and confuted, as may be seen in a book
Saul's Errand to Damascus, &c. Pri
the year 1653, and in several other book
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all men of sober understandings, that th
falsely called orthodox and divines, have
defence, either to vindicate themselves,
prove the people called Quakers, but
fuge of lies, which they first presented
parliament sitting in 1652, and likew
other parliaments which have been sin
time, and to the two protectors, and
this present king is directed; and you pre
tuously charge him to be the patron
requiring him to defend those lies whi
falsely call the faith. But this we know, a
ing as it is written, Prov. xxix. 12. I
"If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servan
wicked; but a wise king scattereth the w
and bringeth the wheel over them."
xx. 26.

"*These* pretended divines, are such
bowed and crouched under every appe
a power, and by flatteries seem to c

them, that they might uphold, maintain, and satisfy their God, which is their bellies: these were of them which said, that Oliver Cromwell was the light of their eyes, and the breath of their nostrils: so that now with shame they might rather confess that they are blind, and dead (from the light and life of God) than to multiply lies in their accustomed manner, as formerly. These also were of them that said, Oliver Cromwell was Moses, who had led them into a sight of the good land; and that Richard his son was Joshua, which should lead them into the possession. But we with many more, do see that their hope is false, and their faith also proved vain, and that they are not yet in the land of promise, for there no liars come. And those former rulers hearkening to their lies, were deceived by them, which was the cause of God's judgments, and utter destruction coming upon them; which while they put into the priests mouths, they cried, peace unto them, calling them Moses, Aaron, and Joshua; but when they ceased, and could not put into their mouths, then they cried out, that Moses and Joshua were tyrants and oppressors: and so will they do unto the king now, who are seeking to cleave unto him by flattery and deceit; which if he deny to be the patron and defender of their lies, will be apt to cry as much against him So that he, or they, are blessed, whose hear

are joined to the truth, and who are led by the Spirit of God as their instructor; for such shall discern hypocrites, and false hearted men, under every pretence of flattery or dissimulation; for the folly of these begins to be manifest unto all men, 2 Tim. iii. 9.

"Now in answer to the history concerning John Toldervey, asserted by a company of priests, as Brooks, Cocking, Goodwin, Jenkins, Jacomb, Alderry, Tombs, and Pool, who themselves say, that they have but perused a part, as page 99, and yet pretend to witness the whole; whose witness is disproved and denied by the said John Toldervey, both by his own book given forth from him, and by his life and conversation, being now (since his return from his out-going) a living witness, not against, but for the way, doctrine, principle, and practice, which the people called Quakers do live in, against those lies published abroad concerning him.

"And as for thy charge thou hast against J. Nayler, through the everlasting mercy of my God, I have yet a being amongst the living, and breath to answer for myself though against the intents of many cruel bloody spirits, who pursued my soul unto death (as much as in them lay) in that day of my calamity, when my adversary was above, and wherein I was made a sign to a backsliding generation, who then would

not see nor hear what now is coming upon them, but rejoiced against this piece of dust, and had little pity towards him that was fallen into their hands; wherein God was just in giving me up for my disobedience, for a little moment, as a father to correct; yet should not they have sought to aggravate things against me, as thou dost; for it was a day of deep distress, and lay sore upon my soul, and the merciful God saw it, who, though he was displeased for a time, yet his thoughts were not to cast off for ever but extend mercy as it is at this day, glory be to his name, from my delivered soul, eternally.

"And in that day there were many spirits flocked about me, and some whom, (while the candle of the Lord shone upon my head,) I ever judged and kept out from me, who then got up and acted, and spoke several things not in the light and truth of God, by which they, who sought occasion against me, were then strengthened to afflict this body, and he that watches for evil, in thee and some others, makes use of still against God's truth and innocent people; whose mouths the God of my mercy stop, and so finish the trouble of my heart as to that thing, for my soul hath long dwelt among lions, even among them that are set on fire, whose teeth are spears and arrows,

and their tongues a sharp sword, speaking mischievous things to shed blood.

"But, O man, or men, whoever you be, whose work it is to gather the failings of God's people in the time of temptation, or night of their trial, and aggravate them, and add thereto the wickedness and mischievous lies of your own hearts, as thou hast done in thy book, and then come out with those against God's everlasting holy truth, is to reproach; I say, you are set on work by an evil spirit, and you do but shew yourselves to be enemies to God and his children; and it is our sorrow, that any of us should give such spirits occasion to blaspheme; and it hath been trouble of soul to all the people of God, that have ever loved righteousness, when they have thus occasioned the joy of the wicked, or to feed the man that watches for iniquity, and feeds on mischief: yet know this, you that are of that brood, God will not cast off his people; though he be sometimes provoked to correct them, even before their adversaries (which is a sign to them) yet is his anger but for a moment, and his favour shall return as streams of life; then shall the food be taken out of the mouth of the viper, and the prey from between the teeth of the devourers; and God will feed them with their own vomit, and the poison that hath long lain under their tongues, shall be bitter in their own bowels. Thus will God cer-

tainly plead with Zion's enemies, as he bends her sons for himself, and God will make up her breaches: and this hath my soul seen, Jacob's captivity restored, and the diggers of the pit are fallen therein; neither hath he smitten him as he smote them that smote him, nor is he slain according to the slaughter of them that are slain by him; but this is all, his fruit to purge away his sin.

"So he that had long watched for my faultering, then got advantage against me; yet had I then power to bear his utmost envy, through Christ Jesus, whom I then confessed before men, who then was my support in all, and under all, and who is over all, blessed for ever of all who hath proved him in the depth.

"But that which was, and is the sorrow of my heart is, the advantage the enemy then took against the name of Christ, his truth, and his despised people, in that time of temptations, which is that which thou art now pursuing with hatred and lies, as that I was suspected, to have a woman in bed with me, the night before I suffered at Bristol, when there were six or seven persons in the room that night, and a man (to wit) Robert Rich in bed with me. But this, and several other false things thou hast written in thy book, of which I am clear before the Lord, so they touch me not at all; nor shall I here mention them against thee in particular; but t

God alone I look, in his time to be cleared from all offences in his sight, who only knows my heart in this thing, in whose presence I can say, that nothing is more odious and burthensome to my soul, than that any of the glory or worship which belongs to God, or to Christ, should be given to flesh and blood, in myself, or others; and how it was with me at that day many talk of, but few know: so the judgment of such I bear; desiring that none in judging me, might have condemned themselves in God's sight, whose counsels are a great deep, and the end of his work past finding out, till he himself reveal them; but in the end he will be justified of all, and in all he doth, that all flesh may be silent before him.

"And however myself, or any others may be left to themselves, to be tried in the night; yea, should any utterly fall, or whatever may be acted by any man or woman, that is not justifiable in God's sight, yet in vain dost thou, or you, gather up sin, or watch for iniquity, to cast upon the light which condemns it in every enlightened conscience, and there will clear himself to be no author nor actor therein; and I know by the Spirit of Jesus, which I have received, and which worketh in me, that this is not his *work*, nor his seed; nor in him that loves his *enemies*, thou art not; but the old accuser of *the brethren* it is that worketh strongly in thee;

and in the light which thou reproachest, art thou seen to be the man that makes lies, and carries tales to shed blood." Ezek. xxii. 9. 12.

Thus much and more J. Nayler wrote to answer the falsehoods whereof he was accused, and to apologize for the doctrine of which he made profession, and to show that the fault of his crime must no ways be attributed to the same, as many envious persons in those times asserted, to wit, that his fall was a consequence of the doctrine that men must take heed to the saving grace, the inward anointing, or the light wherewith every man coming into the world is enlightened from God.*

* J. Nayler was a man who had been highly favoured of God with a good degree of grace which was sufficient for him, had he kept to its teachings; for while he did so, he was exemplary in godliness and great humility, was powerful in word and doctrine, and thereby instrumental in the hand of God, for turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the power of God. But he, poor man, became exalted above measure, through the abundance of revelation; and in that exaltation did depart from the grace and holy Spirit of God, which had been his sufficient teacher. Then blindness came over him, and he did suffer himself to be accounted of above what he ought: here he slipped, and fell, but not irrecoverably; for it did please God of his infinite mercy, in the day of his affliction, to give him a sight and sense of his out goings and fall, and also a place of repentance. And he, with the prodigal humbled himself

Yet to proceed farther with J. Nayler: he wrote after his recovery, many papers and edifying letters: he also answered two letters, which when the persecution in New England burnt so fierce, were sent over from thence in defence of that fact; one under the name of John Endicot, governor of Boston, and the other in that of Richard Billingham. All the arguments for the persecution of the Quakers to be lawful and necessary, he answered at large, and shewed how little agreement their crime of pursuing

for his transgression, and besought God with true contrition of soul, to pardon his offences through Jesus Christ. God, I firmly believe forgave him, for he pardons the truly penitent. His people received him with joy, for that he who had gone astray from God, was now returned to the father's house, and for that he who had separated himself from them through his iniquity, was now through repentance and forsaking of it, returned into the unity of the faith, and their holy fellowship in the gospel of Christ. And I do hereby testify, that I do esteem it a particular mark of God's owning his people, in bringing back into unity with them, a man who had so dangerously fallen, as did James Nayler. And here let none insult, but take heed lest they also, in the hour of their temptation, do fall away. Nor let any boastingly say, Where is your God? Or blasphemously suppose his grace is not sufficient for men in temptation, because the tempted may go from, and neglect the teaching of it. David and Peter, as their transgression came by their departing from this infallible guide, the Holy Spirit, so their recovery was only by it. Jos. Wyeth's Anguis Angel.

persecution had with the name wherewith they had called themselves, for a distinction from other persuasions, namely, Independents, by which they would have it known, that they were independent from all, except the Spirit of Jesus Christ, on whom they pretended alone to be dependent: and yet nevertheless it now appeared manifestly that it was the fleshly arm whereby they supported themselves. He wrote also some papers to the parliament, and the rulers, to check the vanities that were publicly committed, and to mend their faults; to ease the oppressed, and to take care for the maintenance of liberty.

At length * he died in Huntingdonshire, in

* He was a man of great self-denial, and very jealous of himself ever after his fall and recovery.—At last departing from the city of London, about the latter end of the 8th month, 1660, towards the north, intending to go home to his wife and children at Wakefield in Yorkshire, he was seen by a friend of Hertford (sitting by the wayside in a very awful, weighty frame of mind) who invited him to his house, but he refused, signifying his mind to pass forward, and so went on foot as far as Huntingdonshire, and was observed by a friend as he passed through the town, in such an awful frame, as if he had been redeemed from the earth, and a stranger on it, seeking a better country and inheritance. But going some miles beyond Huntingdon, he was taken ill, (being as 'tis said) robbed by the way, and left bound: whether he received any personal injury, is not certainly known, but being found *in a field by* a countryman toward evening, was

the latter end of the year 1660, about the 44th year of his age. About two hours before his death, he spoke in the presence of several witnesses, these words:

"There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end: its hope is to out-live all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations: as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other: if it be betrayed it bears it, for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God: its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind: in God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life: it is

had, or went to a friend's house at Holm, not far from King's Rippon, where Thomas Parnel, a doctor of physic dwelt, who came to visit him; and being asked, if any friends at London should be sent for to come and see him; he said, nay, expressing his care and love to them. Being shifted, he said, you have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls; and not long after departed this life in peace with the Lord, about the 9th month, *1660, and* the 44th year of his age, and was buried in *Thomas* Parnel's burying-ground at King's Rippon *aforesaid.* John Whiting's account.

conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression: it never rejoiceth but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered: I found it alone, being forsaken; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens, and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life.*

"James Nayler."

This was J. Nayler's last testimony, or dying words; and thus he gave proof, that though he had erred, yet with great confidence he hoped for a happy resurrection.

So I conclude the story of J. Nayler, and leaving him now, time calls me to New England.

It was in the month called July, of this present year, when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived in the road before Boston, before ever a law was made there against the Quakers; and yet they were very ill treated; for before they came ashore, the deputy-governor, Richard Billingham (the governor himself being out of

* N. B. There is a passage in the book called, The complete History of England, vol. III. page 201. which says, J. Nayler died with no fruits, nor so much as signs of repentance: how the author came by such information, we cannot tell, but that it is a manifest mistake we doubt not but the impartial reader is by this time abundantly *convinced*.

town) sent officers aboard, who searched their trunks and chests, and took away the books they found there, which were about one hundred, and carried them ashore, after having commanded the said women to be kept prisoners aboard; and the said books were, by an order of the council, burnt in the market place by the hangman. Afterwards the deputy governor had them brought on shore, and committed them by a mittimus to prison as Quakers, upon this proof only, that one of them speaking to him had said thee instead of you; whereupon he said, he needed no more, for now he saw they were Quakers. And then they were shut up close prisoners, and command was given that none should come to them without leave; a fine of five pounds being laid on any that should otherwise come at, or speak with them, though but at the window. Their pens, ink, and paper were taken from them, and they not suffered to have any candle-light in the night season; nay, what is more, they were stripped naked, under pretence to know whether they were witches, though in searching, no token was found upon them but of innocence: and in this search they were so barbarously misused, that modesty forbids to mention it: and that none might have communication with them, a board was nailed up before the window of the jail. And seeing they were not provided with

victuals, Nicholas Upshall, one who had lived long in Boston, and was a member of the church there, was so concerned about it, liberty being denied to send them provision, that he purchased it of the jailor at the rate of five shillings a week, lest they should have starved. And after having been about five weeks prisoners, William Chichester, master of a vessel, was bound in one hundred pounds bond to carry them back, and not to suffer any to speak with them, after they were put on board; and the jailor kept their beds, which were brought out of the ship, and their bible, for his fees.

Such was the entertainment the Quakers first met with at Boston, and that from a people who pretended, that for conscience-sake they had chosen the wildernesses of America, before the well-cultivated Old England; though afterwards, when they took away the lives of those called Quakers, they, to excuse their cruel actions, did not stick to say, that at first they had used no punishment against the Quakers.

Scarce a month after the arrival of the aforesaid women at Boston, there came also Christopher Holder, Thomas Thirstone, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbens, Mary Wheathead, and Dorothy Waugh; they were locked up in the same manner as the former, and after about eleven weeks *stay, sent back*; Robert Lock, the master of a

ship, being compelled to carry these eight persons back on his own charge, and to land them no where but in England; having been imprisoned till he undertook so to do.

The governor John Endicot, whose bloodthirstiness will appear in the sequel, being now come home, bid them, "Take heed ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter. And when they desired a copy of those laws, it was denied them; which made some of the people say, "How shall they know then when they transgress? But Endicot remained stiff, having said before, when at Salem he heard how Ann Austin and Mary Fisher had been dealt with at Boston, "If I had been there, I would have had them well whipt." Then a law was made, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any Quakers into that jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction. When this law was published, Nicholas Upshal, already mentioned, could not forbear to shew the persecutors the unreasonableness of their proceedings, warning them to take heed that they were not found fighting against God, and so draw down a judgment upon the land. But this was taken so ill, that though he was a member of their church, and of good repute, as a man of an unblameable conversation, yet he was fined in twenty three pounds, and imprisoned also,

for not coming to church, and next they banished him out of their jurisdiction. This fine was exacted so severely, that Endicot said, "I will not bate him one groat." And though a weakly old man, yet they allowed him but one month's space for his removal, so that he was forced to depart in the winter.

Coming at length to Rhode Island, he met an Indian prince, who having understood how he had been dealt with, behaved himself very kindly, and told him, if he would live with him, he would make him a warm house. And farther said, "What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God!" For it seems Upshal was already looked upon as one that was departing from his church-membership. But this was but the beginning of the New England persecution, which in time grew so hot, that some of the Quakers were put to death on the gallows, as will be related in its due time.

Now I return to Old England, where we left G. Fox at Exeter, from whence he went to Bristol. Here he had a great meeting in an orchard: and since some thousands of people were come thither, and many very eager to see him, he stept upon a great stone that stood there, and having put off his hat, stood a pretty while silent, to let people look at him. A Baptist was there named Paul Gwyn, who began

to find fault with G. Fox's hair, and at last said to the people, "Ye wise men of Bristol, I strange at you that ye will stand here, and hear a man speak, and affirm that which he cannot make good." Hereupon G. Fox asked the people whether they ever heard him speak before, or ever saw him before? And he bid them take notice what kind of man this Gwyn was, who so impudently said, that he spake and affirmed that which he could not make good; and yet neither Gwyn nor they ever heard him, or saw him before; and that therefore it was a lying, envious, and malicious spirit that spoke in him. Then G. Fox charging Gwyn to be silent, began to preach, which lasted some hours, without being disturbed.

After this meeting, G. Fox departed from Bristol, and passing through Wiltshire, Marlborough, and other places, he returned to London, and when he came near Hyde Park, he saw the protector coming in his coach, whereupon he rode up to the coach side, and some of his life-guard would have put him away, but the protector forbade them. Then riding by his coach side, he spoke to him about the sufferings of his friends in the nation, and shewed him how contrary this persecution was to Christ and his apostles, and to Christianity. And when they were come to the gate of James's Park, G. Fox left Cromwell, who at parting desired him

to come to his house. The next day Mary Sanders, afterwards Stout, one of Cromwell's wife's maids, came to G. Fox's lodging, and told him, that her master coming home, said, he would tell her some good news: and when she asked him, what it was, he told her G. Fox was come to town. To which she replied, that was good news indeed. Not long after, G. Fox and Edward Pyot went to Whitehall, and there spoke to Cromwell concerning the sufferings of their friends, and directed him to the light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. To which Cromwell said, this was a natural light: but they shewed him the contrary, saying, that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ, the spiritual and heavenly man. Moreover, G. Fox bid the protector, lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus. And as he was standing by the table, Cromwell came and sat upon the table's side by him, and said, he would be as high as G. Fox was. But though he continued to speak in a light manner, yet afterwards was so serious, that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, that he never parted so from the Quakers before.

G. Fox having visited the meetings of his friends in and about London, departed thence, and travelled almost through all England, not without many occurrences, which for brevity'

sake I pass by. At length he returned to London again, this year being now come to an end.

In the parliament which Cromwell had called, a law was made, whereby Charles Stuart's title of king was rejected, and the year 1657 being come, subsidies were granted to Cromwell, and there was a contrivance underhand to make him king, of which, though he expressed his dislike, yet he seemed not altogether averse to it; for speaking once with general Fleetwood, and colonel Desborough, he began to droll with them about the word monarch, and said, it was but a feather in a man's cap; and therefore he wondered that men would not please their children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But they not obscurely signified to him, that this business did displease them; and told him, that those who put him upon it, were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin upon himself. Now, though he would not openly oppose them, yet he did not stick to tell them, they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so left them. It is related also, that major-general Lambert told Cromwell, that if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the army to him. The design thus miscarrying, and Cromwell having now seen that the matter would not go so cleverly, he refused the title of king; and the parliament confirming him in his title of

protector, it was agreed, that the parliament henceforth should consist of a lower house, and another house; and that the protector should name a successor in the government. Now he was solemnly vested in his authority, a throne for that purpose being erected in Westminster Hall, and he being clothed in a purple robe lined with ermines, and the sceptre and sword being presented him, took the oath to rule faithfully. Cromwell having called a new parliament, it consisted of two houses, viz. a house of commons, and another house, as they called it. And many excluded members having taken place again in the house of commons, it was believed that more than an hundred of the members were enemies to Cromwell; and the authority of the upper house began to be called in question by some, because it was filled up with many of his creatures, some of them of low rank. And this matter was so carried on in the house of commons, that Cromwell dissolved the parliament, and he also made major-general Lambert surrender his commission.

Edward Burrough, who often wrote to Cromwell, having heard of the design of making him king, wrote a letter to him, wherein I find, that after having told the protector, that he had many warnings from the Lord, he thus speaks to him.

"I, as one that hath obtained mercy from the Lord, and unto whom his word is committed, being moved of him, do hereby in his presence here yet once more warn thee, that thou fear before him, and diligently hearken to him, and seek him with all thy heart, that thou mayest know his will and counsel concerning thee, and mayest do it, and find favour in his sight, and live. Now is the day that his hand is stretched forth unto thee, to make thee a blessing, or to leave thee a curse for ever; and the days of thy visitation are near an end, when God will no more call unto thee, nor hear thee when in the day of thy trouble thou callest to him. And if thou rejectest the counsel of the Lord, and followest the desires of thine own heart, and the wills of men, and wilt not have the light of the world, Christ Jesus, only to rule thee, and to teach thee, which condemns all evil, then shall evil surely fall upon thee, if thou lovest not the light in thee, which condemns it; and the judgments of God, and the day of his last visitation with vengeance thou mayest not escape. Therefore consider, and mark my words, and let this counsel be acceptable unto thee; let it move thee to meekness, to humbleness, and to fear before the Lord, assuredly knowing that it is he that changeth times and things, and that bringeth down, and setteth up whomsoever he will; and how that thou wast raised from a low estate, and set

over all thine enemies. And in that day when thou wast raised up, when the fear of the Lord was before thy face, and thy heart was towards him, and thou wast but little in thine own eyes, then was it well with thee, and the Lord blessed thee. And it was not once thought concerning thee, that the hands of the ungodly would have been strengthened against the righteous under thee, or that such grievous and cruel burthens and oppressions would ever have been laid upon the just, and acted against them in thy name, and under thy dominion, as unrighteously have come to pass in these three years: and this thy suffering of such things is thy transgression, and thou hast not requited the Lord well for his goodness unto thee, nor fulfilled his will in suffering that to be done under thee, and in thy name, which the Lord raised thee against, and to break down, hadst thou been faithful to the end.

"Again, consider, and let it move on thy heart, not to exalt thyself, nor to be high-minded, but to fear continually, knowing that thou standest not by thyself, but by another, and that he is able to abase thee, and give thee into the will of thy enemies whensoever he will; and how the Lord hath preserved thee sometimes wonderfully, and doth unto this day, from the murderous plots, and crafty policy of evil men, *who seek thy* evil, and would rejoice r

thy fall, and in the desolation of thy family and countries: how have they, and do they lay snares for thy feet, that thou mayst be cut off from amongst men, and die unhappily, and be accounted accursed? And yet to this day he hath preserved thee, and been near to keep thee, though thou hast hardly known it; and the Lord's end is love to thee in all these things, and yet a little longer to try thee, that thou mayst give him the glory.

"O that thy heart were opened to see his hand, that thou mightest live unto him, and die in him in peace. And beware lest hardness of heart, possess thee, if thou slight his love, and so be shut up in darkness and given to the desires of thine enemies, and left to the counsels of treacherous men, who may seek to exalt thee by flattery, that they may the better cast thee down, and destroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy posterity a people miserable. But now O consider, and let it enter into thy heart, for thou hast not answered the Lord, but been wanting to him for all this, and hast chosen thy own way and glory, rather than his, and not fulfilled his counsel in raising thee; for the bonds of cruelty are not loosed by thee, and the oppressed are not altogether set free; neither is oppression taken off from the back of the poor, nor the laws regulated, nor the liberty of pure consciences altogether allowed:

but these dominions are filled with cruel oppressions, and the poor groan every where under the heavy hand of justice; the needy are trodden down under foot, and the oppressed cry for deliverance, and are ready to faint for true justice and judgment. The proud exalt themselves against the poor, and the high-minded and rebellious contemn the meek of the earth: the horn of the ungodly is exalted above the Lord's heritage, and they that are departed from iniquity, are become a prey to oppressors; and the cruel-hearted deal cruelly with the innocent in these nations.———Many are unjustly, and wofully sufferers, because they cannot swear on this, or that occasion, though in all cases they speak the truth, and do obey Christ's commands: even such are trodden upon, by unjust fines charged upon them; and this is by the corruptness of some that bear rule under thee, who rule not for God as they ought, but turn the sword of justice.—Some suffer long and tedious imprisonments, and others cruel stripes and abuses, and danger of life many times, from wicked men, for reproving sin, and crying against the abominations of the times, (which the Scriptures also testify against) in streets, or other places; some having been sent to prison, taken on the highway, and no evil charged against them; and others committed, being taken out of peaceable meetings, and whipped, and

sent to prison, without transgression of any law, just, or unjust, wholly through the rage and envy of the devil, and such who have perverted judgment and justice; and some in prisons have suffered superabundantly from the hands of the cruel jailors, and their servants, by beatings and threatenings, and putting irons on them, and not suffering any of their friends to visit them with necessaries; and some have died in the prisons, whose lives were not dear to them, whose blood will be reckoned on account against thee one day.—Some have suffered hard cruelties, because they could not respect persons, and bow with hat or knee; and from these cruelties canst thou not altogether be excused in the sight of God, being brought forth in thy name, and under thy power. Consider, friend, and be awakened to true judgment, let the Lord search thy heart, and lay these things to mind, that thou mayest be an instrument to remove every burden, and mayest at last fulfil the will of God.—O be awakened, be awakened, and seek the Lord's glory, and not thine own; lest thou perish before the Lord and men: nay, if men would give thee honour, and high titles, and princely thrones, take it not; for that which would exalt and honour thee in the world, would betray thee to *the world*, and cast thee down in the sight of *the world*: and this is God's word to thee:

what! shall the whole nation be perjured men, and thou the cause of it? And wilt thou transgress by building again that which thou hast destroyed!—Give heed unto my words and understand my speech: be not exalted by man, lest man betray thee.——Deal favourably, and relieve the oppressed; boast not thyself, though the Lord hath used thee in his hand; but know that when he will, he can cast thee, as a rod, out of his hand into the fire; for in his hand thou art; if thou wilt honour him, he will honour thee; otherwise he can, yea, and will confound thee, and break thee, and make thee weak as water before him. His love through my heart breathes unto thee; he would thy happiness, if thou wilfully contemn it not, by exalting thyself, and seeking thy own glory, and hardening thy heart against the cry of the poor. This I was moved in bowels of pity to lay before thee, who am thy friend, not in flattery, but in an upright heart, who wishes well unto thee in the Lord.

"E. Burrough."

That which E. Burrough mentions in the forepart of this letter, of the grievous burdens and oppressions laid upon the just, seems chiefly to regard the tithes which the priests extorted from the Quakers, so that many thereby were redu-

ced to poverty: and the heinousness of this was not unknown to Cromwell; for when he was about to give battle to his enemies, near Dunbar in Scotland, he said in his prayer to God: that if the Lord would be pleased to deliver him at that time, he would take off that great oppression of tithes. But this promise he never performed, but suffered himself to be swayed by the flatteries of his teachers; and therefore it was not without great cause that E. Burrough laid this grievous oppression before him. A copy of the said letter, of which but a part is inserted here, to shun prolixity, was given into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, then protector, in the third month of this year. In the next month E. Burrough spoke with him about it, and Cromwell told him in effect, that all persecution and cruelty was against his mind, and said, that he was not guilty of those persecutions acted unjustly upon Burrough's friends. This made E. Burrough write again to him, and bid him, "Consider what the cause is, that what thou desirest not to be done, is yet done: is it not that thou mayst please men? Making it appear that thou art more willing to do the false teachers of this nation, and wicked men a pleasure, than to own the people of God in relieving them, and easing them of their cruel burthens and oppressions, laid upon them by unjust men. For a word of thy mouth, or a

shew of thy countenance in dislike of these cruel and unjust persecutions, would bind the hands of many blood-thirsty men. Therefore consider: thou canst not be cleared in the sight of the Lord God from them, being acted under thee, and in thy name: for there seems rather to be a favouring of them in thee, by forbearance of the actors of cruelty, by which their hands are strengthened, than any dislike shewed by thee, in bearing thy witness, as thou oughtest to do, against them. For thou knowest of some in this city, and elsewhere, whom we know to be just men, who suffer imprisonment, and the loss of their liberties, because for conscience-sake they cannot swear; and many others in this nation, suffering cruel things upon the like, or same ground, even for well doing, and not for evil; which oppression might be removed, and their unjust sufferings taken off by thee, by a word from thy mouth or pen; and this makes that thou canst not be clear in the sight of God in these things; because not helped by thee, who hast the power to help it.

"And as concerning the light of Christ, at which thou stumblest, by which every man that cometh into the world is enlightened, in short, this I say: this light to thee is given of God, and thou must own it to be thy only teacher, to receive by it from the Father, and to be

guided by it in all things, if ever thou inheritest God's kingdom.

"The kingdom of Christ is setting up by his own power, and all must bow and become subject thereunto; he needeth none of thy policy, nor the strength of thy arm to advance it; yet would he have thee not to prove thyself an open enemy thereof, by doing, or suffering to be done, cruelty and injustice against them whom the Lord is redeeming out of this world, into subjection unto that kingdom; lest thou be such a one, as will not enter thyself, nor suffer others to enter, and so destruction come upon thee. Wherefore arise as out of sleep, and slumber not in this world's glory and honour; be not overcome by the pleasures of this world, nor the flattering titles of men: wink not at the cruelty and oppression acted by some, who shelter under thee, and make thy name a cloak for mischief against the upright.

"Consider, I say, consider, and be thou changed in thy mind and heart; lest thou having forgotten God, and his many deliverances, be shut up, and numbered for destruction. I desire the Lord may give thee a more perfect understanding of his ways and judgments, and that the crown immortal thou mayest strive for, by meekness and righteousness, through relieving the oppressed, and shewing mercy to the poor, and removing every burden which lies

upon the innocent; and this is the desire of him who is thy friend, and would not have thee crowned with dishonour, through suffering the people of God to be oppressed in thy name, which will be thy overthrow absolutely, if thou removest it not, by turning, and easing the oppressed.

"E. Burrough."

This letter was delivered to O. Cromwell, in the fourth month, and in the month following E. Burrough wrote again to him, that the good name PROTECTOR, by the great oppression acted in his name, was abused, and subverted; and that instead of protection by it, great injustice was acted under it, and covered with it. Besides, that several justices of the peace, and other officers, in trust under him, when they had owned the people called Quakers, had been cast out of their places; though they had not denied to serve him and the commonwealth, neither had unfaithfulness to their trust been proved against them.

In September, E. Burrough wrote another letter to Cromwell, wherein he signified to him, that he had many enemies, some of which endeavoured to destroy him, by any means, without regarding any danger that might be in the attempt. And that he going on in oppression through tyranny, or suffering it, perhaps th

Lord might raise up the wicked to be a plague to wickedness, and suffer the oppressors to overthrow oppressions. That there were others, viz. the fifth monarchy men, who, though not so bad as the former, yet secretly murmured against him, and envied him, not being friends to his government, some of them being cast out and rejected, without just cause, as they supposed. "And as to us, how can we (said he) mention thee in our prayers to God, except it be to be delivered from thee, who are daily unjustly sufferers by thee, or because of thee? Or how can we be friends to that government, under which we daily suffer such hard and cruel things, as the loss of our liberty and estates, and are in danger of life also."

It was about the beginning of this year, that Christopher Birkhead came to Zealand, having been before at Rochelle in France; where having spoken and written against the popish religion, he was imprisoned, and examined by the bishop: and some would have had him burnt, but the criminal judge absolved him. It was in the latter end of the month called February, when he came to Middleburgh in Zealand, and going to the English congregation there after the preacher, William Spanke, *had* preached about three quarters of an hour, *he said*, "Friends, the apostle saith, that we *may all* prophesy one by one, that two or three

prophets may speak, and the others judge; and if any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." This speaking caused a great stir in the congregation, and the rather because he stood in the place where the women used to sit: so he was apprehended by order of the magistrates, and examined in the presence of some of the public preachers. Then the English Teacher, Spanke, put many questions to ensnare him, and being examined by the magistrates concerning the place of his abode, his calling or trade, &c. Spanke was asked, what he had to say against him? Who then related what had happened in the congregation. Concerning this, several questions were asked of Birkhead, but since he understood not Dutch, and the French tongue but imperfectly, he complained that he could not fully answer for himself so as he wished. He was asked also, whether any body else also came along with him? And he was charged to speak the truth. To which he said, that God did not permit him to lie. One of the preachers then said, that all men were liars. To this Birkhead replied, that though all men were liars, yet he knew a deliverance from lying. Then Spanke bid him, not to add to the Scriptures: for Birkhead had accused him a little before, that he had added his meaning to the *Scriptures.* And it being strongly asserted

that all men were liars, Birkhead took occasion from thence, to ask Spanke, whether he was a liar? Who without hesitation answering "Yes," Birkhead bluntly told him, "Then thou art of thy father the devil." Now the matter of J. Nayler having caused strange reports of the Quakers every where, and Birkhead for want of the language not being able to answer so plainly every objection, his offence without question, was aggravated the more; and the conclusion was, that he was sentenced to be confined in the house of correction. But after some time he was released, at the intercession of the Heer Newport, ambassador of the states general in England.

I think it was in this year, that one George Baily coming into France, was taken into custody, and died in prison there; he having zealously testified against popery and spoken boldly against the worshipping of images.

William Ames returning this year to Amsterdam, and one Humble Thatcher (whom I could never learn to have been truly in communion with the Quakers) coming with him, it caused some jealousy: for Ames, who had formerly been in military employment, was an extraordinary bold man: and about this time it seems, a paper was put on the door of the English meeting-house, though Ames declared he knew nothing of it, or who was the author. About

this time also the strange business of J. Nayler being noised abroad, by a book that was printed at Amsterdam, and some other pamphlets, filled with several untruths, and abominable lies; it was not therefore to be wondered at, that the magistrates, fearing some mischief, sent for Ames and Thatcher to appear before them, and commanded them to depart the town within twenty-four hours: but they being persuaded of their own innocency, did not obey this command. The next day appearing again before the magistrates, and not putting off their hats, it seems they were looked upon as such as did not own magistrates; (for this the Quakers stood charged in public print, and were compared to the tumultuous crew of Anabaptists, or Fifth Monarchy Men, at Munster, in the foregoing age:) and so they were kept in custody for some days, and then at night were led through the Regulars gate, and so banished out of the town. But W. Ames judging that he had committed no evil, came again the next day into the city, and passed the great market-place called the Dam. It is reported, that some of the magistrates, seeing him out of the windows of the town house, walking along the street, said, "Lo there's the Quaker; if we had a mind now to make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it." But it seems not *without reason*, that it was looked upon t

be most safe to wink at this; for though strange reports of the Quakers were spread up and down, yet there was no proof of their evil carriage here. Mean-while Ames staid some time in town, and the doctrine he preached found a little entrance, even with some of the collegians.

It was about this time, that my parents, viz. Jacob Williamson Sewell, of Utrecht, free citizen and surgeon at Amsterdam, and his wife, Judith Zinspenning, born in this town, both members of the Flemish Baptists church there, were convinced of the truth preached by William Ames; she having before had immediate openings, that if ever she would become a child of God, she must give heed to this light, which reproves for sin. They, with two or three more were the first orthodox Quakers in Amsterdam; orthodox I say, because I very well remember what a strange and odd sort of people about that time, did flock to the Quakers in this country. But these whimsical people not being sincere in heart; but more inclined to novelties, than to true godliness; perceived in time that they were not regarded by them; and they were also contradicted by Ames and others; so that at length, after many exorbitances, they left the Quakers.

In the fore-part of this year, William Caton *came* also to Amsterdam. Before he left Eng*land,* he had had a meeting on the east side of

Sussex, on the day called Shrove Tuesday, where there had never been any of his friends before. But the people being on that day more rude than ordinary, came up to the house with a drum, in such a desperate manner, as if they would have pulled the house down. Caton stepping out, asked what they wanted? They answered Quakers; at which he told them he was one. And he spoke so plainly to them, and with so much power, that fear falling upon them they withdrew with shame and confusion.

Not long after he went to London, and from thence to Holland; and being safely arrived at Rotterdam, he repaired to Amsterdam; where he came in due time to stop the unruliness of some froward spirits, among which, one Anne Garghil, an English woman, was not one of the least; whose rudeness grew in time to that degree, that she would not suffer W. Ames to preach peaceably in the meeting, but laid violent hands on him; so that at length to be rid of her he bade an English seaman that was present, to take her away, which was done accordingly: and how haughty she was, and continued, I well remember. W. Caton procured also some books to be printed at Amsterdam, to prevent evil and malicious reports concerning the Quakers: and he went with W. Ames to Zutphen in Guelderland; where meeting with nothing, *but opposition, he* returned to Amsterdam, and

from thence by Leyden and the Hague, to Rotterdam; from which place he went to Zealand, where he wrote a book called, "The moderate enquirer resolved," both in Latin and English, which was afterwards translated indifferently into Dutch. After some stay, Caton returned again to England, and came to London, where the Society of his friends was in a thriving condition, and many were added to the church.

In this city we left G. Fox: he wrote there several papers for the opening the understandings of people, and for the edification of his friends. From thence he travelled into Kent, Sussex and Surrey; and coming to Basingstoke, though the people were rude there, yet he had a quiet meeting in the place: in the inn he had some trouble with the innkeeper, who was a drunkard. Afterwards he came to Portsmouth, Exeter, Bristol, and into Wales, where many came to him. At Brecknock (where he was accompanied by Thomas Holmes, who was the first of the Quakers in Wales, who had preached the doctrine of the inward light; and by John-ap-John, who three years before had been sent by a priest out of Wales into the north, to enquire what kind of people the Quakers were;) he had a great meeting in the steeple-house-yard, where was a priest, and one Walter Jenkin who had been a justice, and another justice. Here he preached so effectually, that many were con-

vinced: and after the meeting, he went with Jenkin, to the other justice's house, who said to him, "You have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds." At Leominster he had a great meeting, where priest Tombs made some opposition, by saying, that the light G. Fox spoke of, was but a natural light: but G. Fox asserted the contrary, and said, that he had spoken of no other light than John bore witness to, viz: "The word which was in the beginning with God, and which word was God; and that was the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

G. Fox coming from this place to Tenby, as he rode in the street, a justice of peace came out and desired him to alight, and to stay at his house, which he did; and on the first day of the week had a meeting there, whither the mayor and his wife, and several others of the chief of the town came. John-ap-John, who was then with G. Fox, left the meeting, and went to the steeple-house, and was by the governor cast into prison. The next morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's house, to fetch G. Fox; which grieved the mayor and the justice, and so they went up to the governor, and a while after G. Fox went with the officer, and coming in, said, "*Peace be unto* this house;" and before the

governor could examine him, he asked, why he had cast his friend into prison? And the governor answered, "For standing with his hat on in the church." "Why?" resumed G. Fox, "had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one, and a white one? And if the brim of the hat, which was but to defend from the weather, had been cut off, then my friend would have had but one cap." "These are frivolous things," said the governor: "Why then," said G. Fox, "Dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?" Then the governor asked him, whether he owned election and reprobation? "Yes," said he, "and thou art in the reprobation." This so incensed the governor, that he told G. Fox, he would send him to prison, till he proved it. G. Fox not at all at a loss, said, "I will prove that quickly, if thou will but confess truth:" and then he asked him whether wrath, fury, and rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation? For he that was born of the flesh, persecuted him that was born of the spirit: and Christ and his apostles never persecuted nor imprisoned any. This speech of his so struck the governor, that he fairly confest, that he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him: which made G. Fox say, that Esau the first birth was up in *him*, not Jacob the second birth: by this the *man* was so reached, that he confessed to truth

and inviting G. Fox to dinner with him, he set his friend at liberty. It was with great satisfaction that G. Fox departed the town; and in several other places of Wales he had some singular occurrences, and though the people generally were rude, yet some were convinced.

At length he came to Lancaster, where at the inn, he met with colonel West, who was very glad to see him. Next he went to Swarthmore, where he wrote several epistles and other papers. After having staid there some days, he went to some other places in the north, and into Scotland. Here, travelling from town to town, he met with great opposition from the priests; for in an assembly they had drawn up several articles, or curses, to be read in their steeple-houses, the first of which was, "Cursed is he which saith every man hath a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation: and let all the people say Amen." An Independent pastor preaching one day against the Quakers, and the light, and calling the light natural, cursed it, and so fell down as dead in his pulpit; the people carrying him out, and pouring strong waters into him, it brought him to life again; but he was mopish, and as one of his hearers said, he never recovered his senses.

In October G. Fox came to Edinburgh, where he was summoned to appear before the council, who though indifferently civil, yet told him t

must depart the nation of Scotland by that day week: against which he not only spoke, but wrote also, Whilst G. Fox was in Scotland, his friends there were brought into a great strait; for, being excommunicated by the Presbyterian teachers, charge was given, that none should buy or sell, nor eat and drink with them. Hence it came to pass, that some having bought bread, or other victuals, of their neighbours, these frighted with the curses of their priests, did run, and fetch it from them again. But colonel Ashton, a justice of peace, put a stop to these proceedings, and being afterwards convinced of the truth, had a meeting settled at his house, and declared the truth, and lived and died in it.

G. Fox now travelled almost over all Scotland, and had in some places good opportunities to declare the gospel, being often heard with satisfaction by the English soldiers; but the Scotch generally gave little heed. He went also among the Highlanders, who were a mischievous people. Returning at length to Leith, the innkeeper told him, that the council had granted forth warrants to apprehend him, because he was not gone out of the nation after the seven days were expired, that they had ordered him to depart in. Some *others* told him the same, to whom he said, "*What do* you tell me of their warrants against *me? If* there were a cart load of them I do not,

heed them; for the Lord's power is over them all." From Leith he went to Edinburgh again, and went to the inn where he had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with him. Alexander Parker and Robert Widders being also there, he resolved to go with Parker to Johnston, out of which town some time before he had been led by soldiers; and he came into Johnston just as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and soldiers never questioning him. And coming to captain Davenport's house, from which he had been haled before, he found there many officers, who lifting up their hands, wondered that he came again; but he told them the Lord God had sent him amongst them again. Then the Baptists sent him a letter by way of challenge, that they would discourse with him again the next day. And he sent them word, that he would meet them at a certain house, about half a mile out of the town, at such an hour. For he thought, if he should stay in the town to speak with them, they might, under pretence of discoursing with him, have raised people to carry him out of town again, as they did before. At the time appointed he went to the place, captain Davenport and his son accompanying him; and there he staid some hours, but none of them came; whereby the intent of the Baptists was sufficiently discovered. Being thus disappointed, he went back again

Edinburgh, and passed through the town, as it were, against the cannon's mouth. The next day, being the first day of the week, he went to the meeting in the city, and many officers and soldiers came to it and all was quiet. The following day he went to Dunbar, where, walking with a friend or two of his in the steeple-house yard, he met with one of the chiefmen of the town there: and spoke to one of his friends to tell him, that about the ninth hour next morning, there was to be a meeting there, of the people called Quakers., of which they desired him to give notice to the people of the town. To which he said, that they were to have a lecture there by the ninth hour: but that a meeting might be kept there by the eighth hour, if they would. G. Fox thinking this not inconvenient, desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning many came, both rich and poor: and a captain of horse being quartered in the town, came there with his troopers also, To this company G. Fox preached, and after some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house: but G. Fox and his friend being in the steeple-house yard, most of the people staid with them; so that the priest having but few hearers made short work, and coming out, stood a while and heard G. Fox, and then went away. This was the last meeting he had in Scotland, and he understood afterwards, that his labour

had not been in vain, but that the number of believers increased. Now he departed from Dunbar, and came to Berwick in Northumberland, and from thence to Newcastle, where we will leave him a while, and return again to New England.

We have seen before, that a law was made there, to prevent the Quakers coming into that country. The first I find that came after that, were Ann Burden, a widow, whose business was to gather up some debts in the country, that were due to her; and Mary Dyer from Rhode Island, who, before her coming, knew nothing of what had been done there concerning the Quakers. These two were both imprisoned, which William Dyer, Mary's husband, hearing, came from Rhode Island, and did not get her released without a great deal of pains; becoming bound in a great penalty, not to lodge her in any town of that colony, nor to permit any to speak with her; an evident token that he was not of the society of Quakers, so called, for otherwise, he would not have entered into such a bond: but then without question, he would also have been cast into prison. As for Anne Burden, she was kept in prison, though sick, about a quarter of a year. Whilst she was in this restraint, some tender-hearted people had procured of her debts to the value of about thirty *pounds* in goods: and when she at length

was to be sent away, she desired that she might have liberty to pass to England, by Barbadoes, because her goods were not fit for England. Now how reasonable soever this request was, yet the master of a ship was compelled to carry her to England, without her goods, for which she came there, except to the value of about six shillings, which an honest man sent her upon an old account. And when the master of the ship asked who should pay for her passage, the magistrates bid him take so much of her goods as would answer it. But he was too honest to do so, being persuaded that she would not let him be a loser, though he could not compel her to pay, since she went not of her own will: yet for all that she paid him in London. After she was gone, when he that had the first trust from her husband, was to convey her goods to Barbadoes, these rapacious people stopped to the value of six pounds ten shillings for her passage, for which they paid nothing, and seven shillings for boat hire to carry her on shipboard, though the master proffered the governor to carry her in his own boat, but that was not allowed; she being sent with the hangman in a boat that was pressed; besides they took to the value of about fourteen shillings for the jailor, to whom she owed nothing. Now, though this widow had made such a great voyage, to get something of what was due to her to relieve her and her

fatherless children, yet after three years she had nothing of it come to her hands: and whether she got any thing since I never understood.

The next of the Quakers that came to Boston, was Mary Clark, who having left her husband John Clark, a merchant taylor, with her children, at London, came thither to warn these persecutors, to desist from their iniquity: but after she had delivered her message, she was unmercifully rewarded with twenty stripes of a whip with three cords, on her naked back, and detained prisoner about twelve weeks in the winter season. The cords of these whips were commonly as thick as a man's little finger, having each some knots at the end; and the stick was sometimes so long, that the hangman made use of both his hands to strike the harder.

The next that came were Christopher Holder and John Copeland, who had been banished before; and coming to Salem, a town in the same colony, Holder spoke a few words in their meeting after the priest had done; but was haled back by the hair of his head, and a glove and handkerchief thrust into his mouth, and so turned out with his companion; and next day had to Boston, where each of them received thirty stripes with a knotted whip of three cords, the hangman measuring his ground, and fetching his strokes with the greatest strength he could: which so cruelly cut their flesh, that

a woman seeing it, fell down as dead. Then they were locked up in prison, and the jailor kept them three days without any food, not giving them so much as a draught of water; and so close that none might come to speak with them: lying on the boards without bed or straw. Thus they were kept nine weeks prisoners without fire in the cold winter season. And Samuel Shattock of Salem, who endeavoured to stop the thrusting of the glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth, lest it should have choked him; was also carried to Boston, and there imprisoned, till he had given bond for twenty pounds, to answer it at the next court, and not to come at any meeting of the Quakers.

The career of this cruelty did not stop here; for Lawrence Southick and his wife Cassandra, members of the public church at Salem, and an ancient and grave couple, having entertained the aforesaid C. Holder and J. Copeland, were committed to prison, and sent to Boston, where Lawrence being released, his wife was kept prisoner, and then fined forty shillings for owning a paper of exhortation, written by the aforesaid Holder and Copeland.

The next that came from England, as being under a necessity from the Lord to come to this land of persecution, was Richard Dowdney, who was apprehended at Dedham, and brought to Boston, having never before been in that

country; yet he was not spared for all that, but thirty stripes were given him in like manner as the former. And after twenty days imprisonment, he was sent away with Holder and Copeland; after having been threatened with cutting off their ears, if they returned. These cruel dealings so affected many inhabitants, that some withdrew from the public assemblies, and meeting by themselves quietly on the first days of the week, they were fined five shillings a week, and committed to prison. The first whose lot this was, were the aforesaid Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, and their son Josiah, who being carried to Boston, were all of them, notwithstanding the old age of the two, sent to the house of correction, and whipt with cords, as those before, in the coldest season of the year, and had taken from them to the value of four pounds thirteen shillings for not coming to church.

Leaving New England for a while, I will turn another way. It was in this year, about the latter end of the summer, that a certain young man, named George Robinson, felt a motion to travel to Jerusalem. In order thereunto, he embarked in a ship bound for Leghorn in Italy, where having staid about two weeks, being daily visited by English, and others, he went in a *french* ship towards St. Jean d'Acre, *formerly called* Ptolemais, a city in Asia, bo

dering upon the Mediterranean sea, near Palestine, where, having lodged about eight days, in a French merchant's house, he embarked in a vessel bound for Japha, or Joppe. What occurred by the way with some Turks, who demanded unreasonable tribute of him, I pass by: but a certain Armenian on that occasion having seen his meek behaviour, said, he was a good Christian, and was very kind to him. Being arrived at Japha, he went to Ramoth, but the friars at Jerusalem having heard of his coming, gave orders to some to stop him, which was done accordingly; and after having been locked up about a day, there came an ancient Turk, a man of great repute, who took him into his house, and courteously entertained him. After four or five days there came an Irish friar from Jerusalem, with whom falling into discourse on religious matters, the friar at first behaved himself kindly, but told him afterwards, that was not the business he came about, but that he was sent from his brethren, the friars, at Jerusalem, to propound to him some questions.

1. Whether he would promise, when he came to Jerusalem, that he would visit the holy places as other pilgrims did?

2. Whether he would pay so much money as pilgrims used to do?

3. Whether he would wear such a sort of habit as was usual with pilgrims?

4. That he must speak nothing against the Turks laws.

5. And when he came to Jerusalem, not to speak any thing about religion.

Not being willing to enter into a promise, he was by the Irish friar (with a guard of horse and footmen he brought with him from Jerusalem) carried back to Japha, and embarked in a vessel bound for St. Jean d'Acre; whither being come, a Frenchman, called Surrubi, took him into his house, and lodged him about three weeks. This man entertained him very kindly, and would say sometimes, that it was the Lord's doings; "For," said he, "when my own countrymen come to me, they are little to me, but thee I can willingly receive." After much trouble, Robinson got opportunity, (by the help of the said French merchant, who was an ancient man,) to return by sea to Japha; from whence he went on his journey a foot, and by the way met three men, two of them riding upon asses, and the other going a foot; and they asking him for money, one held his gun to his breast, and another put his hand into his pockets, and took some things out. He suffering all this without any opposition, the man that took his things *from him*, put them up again; and one

of the three taking him by the hand, led him a little on his way, in a friendly manner and so left him. At length Robinson came to Ramoth, where he, was presently known, and two that belonged to the friars laid hold on him, and hurried him away; but two Turks took him from them, and one leading him by one arm, and the other by the other, they brought him into a mosque, or Turkish temple. Thus innocently entering there, many people came flocking in, and also some of the Mahometan priests, who having caused him to sit down, asked him, whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion? But he refusing, they pressed him much, made great promises, and said, that he had no need to fear what the Christians might do unto him. Nevertheless he answered, he could not turn unto them for all the world. But they continued to strive much with him, and would have made him hold up one of his fingers, as a sign of owning them; and one bid him say, "Christ is bad;" but he answered, he knew him to be good, and he was his servant. Then some growing angry, said, if he would not turn to their religion he should die. To which he replying, that he would rather die than turn unto them; it was answered, he should *then die.* And so by their order, the executioner *haled* him away to the place where it was *xpected* that he should have been burnt to

death with camel's dung. Here he was made to sit down upon the ground, and was as a sheep among wolves. Whilst he was thus sitting with a retired mind, the Turks began to fall out among themselves, and whilst they were at odds, a grave ancient Turk, a man of note, came to him, and said, whether he would turn from his religion or not, he should not die. Then he was brought before the priests again, who asked him, "Will you turn?" And he answering, "No," they recorded in a book, that he was no Roman Catholic, but of another religion; for though he denied to be such a Catholic, yet he had owned that he was a Christian.

The Turks coming now to be more sedate the aforesaid ancient man ordered his servants to conduct Robinson to his house, where he was friendly entertained, and soon perceived that the friars had thus plotted against him; for he went not into the mosque of his own accord, being led into it; but heaven preserved him. After having been four or five days in the house of the ancient Turk, there came a guard of horsemen, hired by the friars, to carry him to Gaza; for they had preinformed the Basha of that place against him: but Robinson being come thither, things took another turn than they expected; for the Basha being by *some Turks* made acquainted with the mischiev-

ous design of the friars, made them not only pay a considerable fine, but also commanded them to convey Robinson safely to Jerusalem. Whilst he was at Gaza, he was visited by many Turks, Greeks, and Armenians; the latter of whom having heard he was a Christian, and that he chose rather to die than to turn from his religion, became very loving, as were the Turks, the Jews also shewed themselves moderate towards him. Then according to the forementioned order of the Basha, he was carried to Jerusalem, and there, by the appointment of the friars, brought into their convent, where at first they seemingly shewed love unto him, and one confessed, there was now an evident sign, that he was a good Christian, for he was come through persecution and sufferings; and those things which had been spoken in his prejudice, were manifest to be untrue. Robinson told the friar, it was he and his brethren that had been the cause of his sufferings, and withstood his coming to Jerusalem. To which the other returned, that the English friar had misinformed them by his writing, which had caused them to do what they had done; and that therefore they desired he would now pass by those things, seeing he was come through in such a miraculous manner; for (continued the friar) it was the Lord's work, thus to carry him through, and he might praise God he was preserved.

The next morning a friar came to him, and sked, if he would become an obedient child, nd go to visit the holy places, according to heir custom? He answered, "No." Then the riar said, "Whereas others give great sums of noney to see them, you shall see them for othing." But Robinson replied, "I shall not isit them in your manner, for in so doing I hall sin against God." This did not please the riar, yet he said, they would honour him as nuch as ever they honoured any Englishman that came thither, if he would conform nto them. But Robinson continued immoveble, and said he should not conform; and as or their honour, he did not matter it. Then he friar became angry, and said, they would nake him an example to all Englishmen that ame thither. To which Robinson returned, I hoose your dishonour rather than your honour. The friar seeing he could not prevail, went way in anger, and within a short time came gain: and other friars being present, one asked im, if he would visit their church, and the oly sepulchre, and Bethlehem, with the rest of he holy places, as other pilgrims did? But he old them at present he had no business to visit hem; and in their manner he should not visit them t all, viz. to worship them. Then one said to im, "How can you be a servant of God, and will

of God dwelt?" To which he returned, that they, under pretence of doing service to God, in visiting the places where the holy men dwelt, did oppose that way, and resist that life, which the holy men of God lived and walked in. Then one of the friars said, "What do you preach unto us for?" To which he replied, that he would have them turn from those evil practices they lived in, else the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled against them. But they did not at all like such discourse, and therefore said, If he would not go and visit the aforesaid places, yet he must give twenty-five dollars, as was the manner of those that visited them; for, said they, the Turks must be paid, whether he would visit them, or not; but if he would visit them, then they would pay it for him. To this he signified, that he could not submit to such unreasonable terms.

Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in that place who asked him divers questions, to which he soberly gave answers; and they discoursing about the worship of the Christians, the Turk asked also, what was the ground of his coming to Jerusalem. To which he answered, that it was by the command of the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the great and tender love of God was made manifest in visiting them; his compassionate mercies being such, that he would gather them

in this the day of his gathering. This was the message which Robinson believed he had from the Lord to declare unto them, whether they would hear, or forbear. And afterwards he wrote, that having thus cleared his conscience, he found great peace with the Lord, and therefore he magnified his glorious name who had gone along with him, and preserved him in many trials. For the friars, who intended him mischief, were commanded by the Turks to carry him again safe and free of charges, to Ramla. Here I leave him, because I do not find how he came home; but that he returned thither in safety, appears to me from the relation he afterwards published of his travels.

END OF VOL. 1.

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